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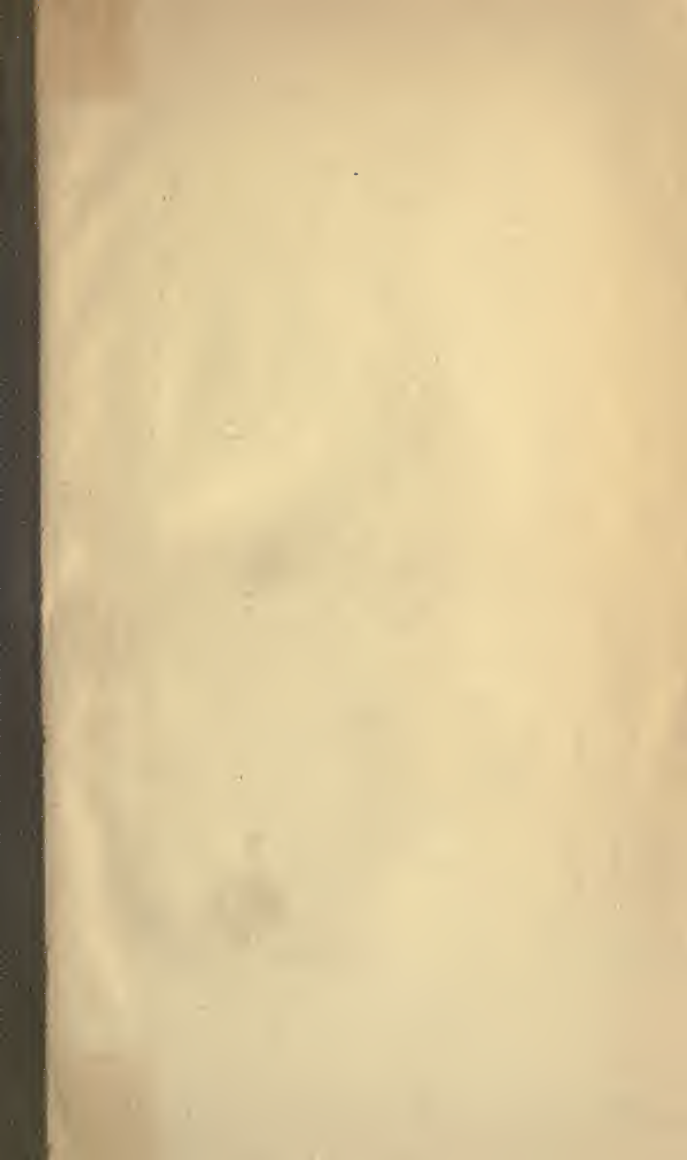
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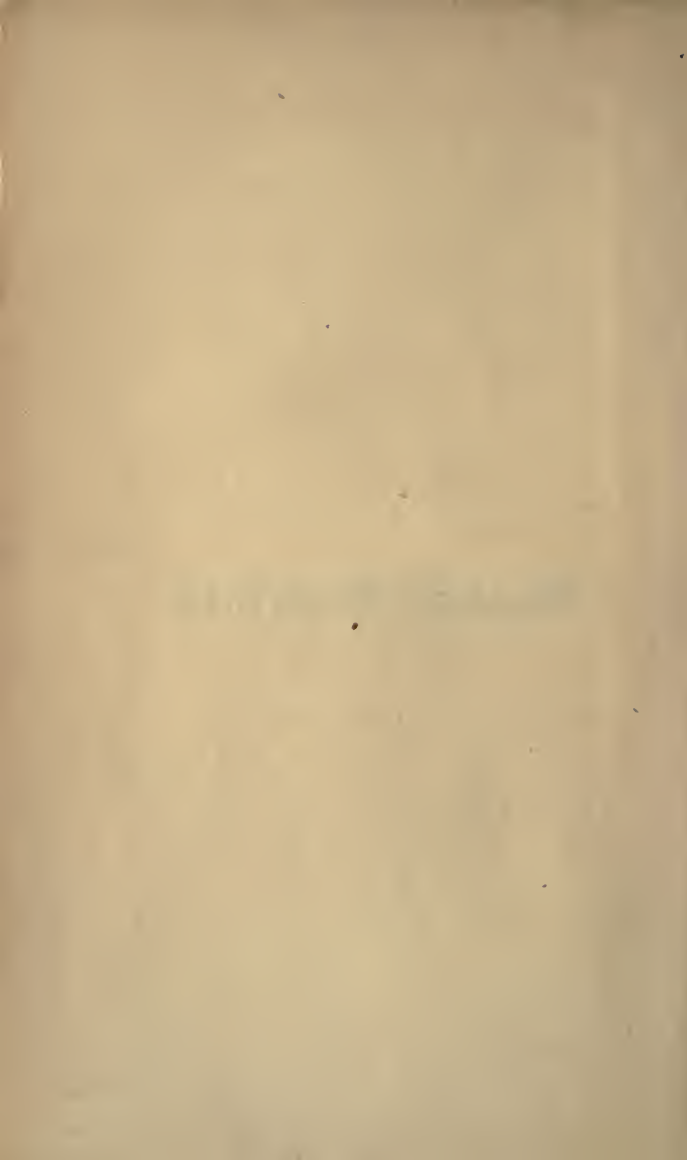


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**English Reprints.**





**English Reprints.**

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

*Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.*

**JAMES HOWELL, B.A.**

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL. 1642.

**NICHOLAS UDALL.**

ROISTER DOISTER. ?1553-1566.

THE REVELATION TO  
THE MONK OF EVESHAM. ?1196-?1482.

**JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND, I OF ENGLAND.**

THE ESSAYES OF A PRENTISE, IN THE DIVINE  
ARTE OF POESIE. 1585.

A COUNTERBLASTE TO TOBACCO. 1604.

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# English Reprints.

JAMES HOWELL, B.A.

Clerk of the Council.

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.

1642.

COLLATED WITH THE SECOND EDITION OF 1650.

*Senefco non Segnesco.*

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

*Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.*

LONDON:

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

*Ent. Stat. Hall.]*

15 June, 1869.

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## CONTENTS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	2
SHORT ACCOUNTS of James Howell . . . . .	3
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	5
<i>INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.</i> 7	
(1) Dedication to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II.	8
(2) The Substance of this <i>Discourse</i> . . . . .	9
(3) INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL . . . . .	11
In nineteen Sections.	
(4) APPENDIX ADDED IN SECOND EDITION, 1650.	
Some Directions for <i>travelling</i> into Turkey and the	
<i>Levant</i> parts . . . . .	82

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## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1642. London. 1 vol. 12mo. *Editio princeps*: see title at p. 7.  
 1650. [7 May.] Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell [then as in  
 London. first edition, with the addition of] With a new Appendix for  
 1 vol. 12mo. Travelling into *Turkey* and the *Levant* parts.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1868. 15 June. Lond. 8vo. *English Reprints*. See title at p. 1.



\* Probable or approximate dates.

It is impossible to give here any adequate notice of Howell's career, or of his many works: both original and translative. I trust, in the course of next year, 1870, to include among the 'English Reprints' a satisfactory edition of his principal work *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*; which grew into completeness in four successive instalments, published severally in 1645, 1647, 1650, and 1655: and in that edition to give the usual Chronicle of his Life, Works, and Times.

Two short accounts of him must therefore suffice for the present.

1. A contemporary, Sergeant-Major PETER FISHER, Poet Laureate to the Protector, edited in 1664, *Mr. Howell's Poems upon divers Emergent Occasions*. In his address *To the Reader*, Fisher thus characterizes the works of Howell, then a Septuagenarian in years and a Patriarch in literature.

"Not to know the Author of these Poems, were an Ignorance beyond *Barbarism*, as 'twas said of a famous person in *France*: yet I held it superfluous to prefix his name in the Title-Page, he being known and easily distinguished from others by his Genius and Stile, as a great Wit said lately of him,

*Author Hic ex Calamo notus ut ungue Leo.*

He may be called the prodigie of his Age, for the variety of his Volumes: for from his *Δενδρολογία* or *Parly of Trees*, to his *Θηρολογία* or *Parly of Beasts*, (not inferior to the other) there hath pass'd the Press above forty of his Works on various subjects; useful not onely to the present times, but to all posterity.

And 'tis observed, that in all his Writings there is something still *New*, either in the *Matter, Method* or *Fancy*, and in an untrodden Tract. Moreover, one may discover a kinde of Vein of *Poesie* to run through the body of his *Prose*, in the Continuity and succinctness thereof all along.

He teacheth a new way of Epistolizing; and that *Familiar Letters* may not onely consist of Words, and a bombast of Complements, but that they are capable of the highest Speculations and solidst kind of Knowledge.

He chalks out a Topical and exact way for *Forreign Travel*, not roving in general Precepts onely.

In all his Histories there are the true Rules, Laws and Language of History observed.

What infinite advantages may be got by his *Dictionaries* and *Nomenclature* by all Professions and Nations!

How strongly and indeed unanswerably doth he assert the *Royal Right* in divers learned Tracts, to the unbeguiling and conversion of many thousands abroad as well as at home! &c.

Touching these Poems, most of them nere saw publick Light before; for I got them in *Manuscripts*, whereof I thought fit to give the Reader an Advertisement."

2. ANTHONY-A-WOOD gives this account of his *life* (*Ath. Oxon.* iii. 744, Ed. 1817).

\*1594.

'JAMES HOWELL was born in Caermarthenshire, particularly, as I conceive, at Abernant, of which place his father was minister. In what year he was born, I cannot precisely tell you, yet he himself saith, that his ascendant was that hot constellation of Cancer about the midst of the dog-days.'

[1608. Feb. 20. His elder brother Thomas, of Jesus Coll. Oxon., takes his B.A.—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*]

1610. æt. 16. 'After he had been educated in grammar learning in the free-school at Hereford, he was sent to Jesus coll. in the beginning of 1610, aged 16 years.'

[1612. July 9. His brother Thomas takes his M.A.—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*]

1613. Dec. 17. 'James takes his B.A.'—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* i. 352. He

æt. 19.

'took a degree in arts, and then, being a pure cadet, a true cosmopolite, not born to land, lease, house, or office, was in a manner put to it to seek his fortune. But by the endeavours of friends and some money that his father assisted him with, he travelled for three years into various countries, whereby he

\*1614—\*1617.

- advantaged himself much in the understanding of several languages.'
1622. æt. 28. 'Some years after his return, he was sent into Spain 1622, to recover of the king of that place a rich English ship, seized on by his vice-roy of Sardinia for his master's use, upon some pretence of prohibited goods therein.'
1623. æt. 29. 'He was elected fellow of Jesus coll.'
- \*1625. æt. 31. 'Three years after his return, he was entertained by Emanuel lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, and Lord President of the North, and by him was made his secretary. So that residing in York for that purpose, he was by the mayor and aldermen of Richmond chose a burges for their corporation for that parliament that began at Westminster in the year 1627.'
1627. æt. 33. 'Four years after he went secretary to Robert earl of Leicester, ambassador extraordinary from our king to the king of Denmark : before whom and his children he shew'd himself a quaint orator by divers Latin speeches spoken before them, shewing the occasion of their embassy, to condole of death of Sophia, queen dowager of Denmark, grandmother to Charles I. king of England.'
1631. æt. 37. 'Afterwards going through several beneficial employments, particularly the assisting the clerks of the council,' he 'was at length, in the beginning of the civil war, made one of those clerks.'
1642. \*Sept. æt. 48. 'But being prodigally inclined, and therefore running much into debt, he was seized on by order of a certain committee (after the king was forc'd from his parliament) and committed prisoner to the Fleet.'
- 'So that having nothing to trust to but his wits, and to the purchase of a small spot of ground upon Parnassus (which he held in fee of the Muses), he solely dedicated himself to write and translate books; which, tho' several of them are meer scribbles, yet they brought him in a comfortable subsistence, during his long stay there.'
- [1644. July. His brother Thomas consecrated Bishop of Bristol, but dies  
[1646. in 1646.]
1660. æt. 66. 'After the King's return in 1660, we never heard of his restoration to his place of clerk of the council, (having before flatter'd Oliver and sided with the commonwealth's men), only that he was made the King's historiographer, being the first in England that bore that title; and having no beneficial employment, he wrote books to his last.'
- 'At length after he had taken many rambles in this world in his younger years, and had suffered confinement in his last,' he 'gave way to fate in the beginning of Novemb. in 1666, and was buried on the north side of the Temple church in London, near the round walk. Soon after was a monument set up in the wall over his grave, with this inscription thereon. *Jacobus Howell Cambro-Britannus, Regius Historiographus, (in Anglia primus) qui post varias peregrinationes, tandem naturæ cursum peregit, satur annorum et famæ, domi foris-que huc usque erraticus, hic fixus 1666.* This monument was pulled down in 1683, when the said Temple church was beautified and repaired.'
1666. Nov. æt. 72. 'He had a singular command of his pen, whether in verse or prose, and was well read in modern histories, especially in those of the countries wherein he had travelled, had a parabolical and allusive fancy, according to his motto *Senesco non Segnesco*. But the reader is to know that his writings having been only to gain a livelihood, and by their dedications to flatter great and noble persons, are very trite and empty, stolen from other authors without acknowledgment, and fitted only to please the humours of novices.'

Wood's account of Howell may be accepted *pro tem.*; his estimate of him should be laid by for future investigation.

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.



AMUEL PURCHAS in his address *To the Reader*, prefixed to his celebrated *Pilgrimes*, 1625, thus speaks of foreign travel:—

As for Gentlemen, Trauell is accounted an excellent Ornament to them; and therefore many of them comming to their Lands sooner than to their Wits, aduenture themselues to see the Fashions of other Countries, where their soules and bodies find temptations to a twofold Whoredom, whence they see the World as *Adam* had *knowlege of good and euill*, with the losse or lessening of their estate in this *English* (and perhaps also in the heauenly) Paradise, and bring home a few smattering termes, flattering garbes, Apish crings, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises, the vanities of Neighbour Nations (I name not *Naples*) without furthering of their knowledge of God, the World, or themselues. I speake not against Trauell, so vsfull to vsfull men, I honour the industrious of the liberall and ingenuous in arts, bloud, education: and to prevent exorbitancies of the other, which cannot trauell farre, or are in danger to trauell from God and themselues, at no great charge I offer a World of Trauellers to their domesticke entertainment. . . .

In the same spirit, seventeen years afterwards, Howell wrote his *Instructions for Forreine Travell*,—our first Handbook for the Continent. He intended it as a cautionary Guide to young English gentlemen who went abroad to complete their education, and to make their first acquaintance with Life and Manners.

In itself the book is very discursive. A survey of foreign politics, much shrewd speculation in language, descriptions of foreign customs; and in particular, a notable discrimination of the differing characters of the Frenchman and the Spaniard of his day; these are mingled with the legitimate subject of the treatise: while at the close, he offers an apology for Episcopacy, and is as severe as Purchas upon home-imported

fooleries. So that, while the Author wanders, Posterity gains.

One historic allusion may be made. It is interesting to connect this Tract on Travelling with the Life of our great Epic poet. John Milton, then a young man of thirty years of age, journeyed through France to Italy and back, in 1638-9. Inverting Howell's information, we may gather some impressions of Milton's foreign tour.

In the present Reprint, the second edition of 1650 has been collated with the first. Its variations—mainly grammatical—are shown between [ ], and its *Appendix* has been added.

The *Appendix* is not the result of actual observation. Howell never travelled 'into *Turky* and the *Levant* parts.' It is a brief memorandum compiled from general sources of information.

Altogether these *Instructions* give us an interesting glimpse of the Continent between 1618—when Howell first went abroad, staying away three years—and 1642. They are the counsels of a man, himself notable on many accounts. A thorough Welshman, Howell became a celebrated English author in his day. He was past forty years of age before his first book was published. Then for the remaining twenty odd years of his life, with an incessant and unwearying industry, he wrote, compiled, or translated book after book, each varying greatly in subject. Lastly, he is one of the earliest instances of a literary man successfully maintaining himself with the fruits of his pen.



7

# INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.

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Shewing by what *cours*, and in  
what *compasse of time*, one may  
take an exact Survey of the King-  
domes and States of Christen-  
dome, and arrive to the practicall  
knowledge of the Languages,  
to good purpose.

---

— *Post motum dulcior inde Quies.*

---

LONDON,  
Printed by *T. B.* for *Humprey Mofley*,  
at the *Princes Armes*, in Paules  
Church-yard. 1642.

To the growing Glory

OF

Great Brittain,

Prince CHARLES.

A parallell 'twixt His *Highnesse*, and  
the *Black Prince*.

SIR,



Charles had one Glorious Prince of haire and hue  
(Which colour sticks unto Him still) like  
You :  
He travell'd far, He won His spurs in  
France, (chance

And tooke the King, the KING, & monstrous [wondrous]

Then his victorious troupes afresh He gethers  
And with the gray Goose-wing his shafts [shaft] new  
He beats a march up the Pyrene Hills, (fethers,

And the Cantabrian clime with terror fills,  
To re-inthroned Don Pedro Castile's King,  
Of which heroique Act all Stories ring.

Your Royall Sire travell'd so far, and Thay  
Of all our Princes only made that way.

Who knowes, Great Sir, but by just destiny,  
Your bunch of (Youthfull) Plumes may further fly?  
But Faulcon-like, You may with full fumm'd wing  
The Eagle cuff, and from his tallons wring  
The \* Prey, or in exchange seize on his Ore,  
And fixe Your Standard on the Indian shore.

'Twas by <sup>b</sup>a Charles, France once the Empire got,  
'Twas by a <sup>c</sup>Charles the Spaniard dreue that lot,  
Why may not Brittain challenge the next call,  
And by a CHARLES be made Imperiaill ?

\* Palatinat.

<sup>b</sup> Carolus Magnus.

<sup>c</sup> Carol. Quintus.

————— Sic Vaticinatur.



## The Substance of this *Discours*.

**O**f the advantage, and preheminance of the Eye.  
Of Forraine Travell, and the progresse of Learning.

What previous abilities are required in a Traveller.

A caveat touching his Religion.

Precepts for learning the French Language.

What Authors to be made choyce of, for the Government  
and History of France.

Of Books in generall.

Of Historians, and a method to reade them.

Of Private Meditation.

[A large discourse of the strange difference 'twixt the dis-  
position of the French and Spaniard.]

Of Poets.

An estimat of the expences of a Nobleman, or of a pri-  
vate Gentleman a broad.

Advertisements for writing of Letters.

**I**nstructions for travelling in Spaine.

Of barren and fruitful Countreys.

The strange contrariety 'twixt the French and the Spaniard,  
the reasons natural and accidental.

Of their cariage, cloathing, and diet, &c.

Of the Spanish Language, how to be studied, and of its  
affinity with the Latine.

Of Spanish Authors.

The advantage of conversing with Marchants.

**P**Recepts for travelling in Italy.

Of the people and Language.

Of the Republique of Venice and other States there.

What observations are most usefull in any Countrey.

- ✓ *A digression into a politicall Discours of the Princes of Europe.*  
*Of crossing the Alpes, and passing through Germany.*  
*Of the Court of Bruxells, and the Netherlands.*  
*Of the wonderful Stratagems used in those wars.*  
*The best Authors for the Belgick Story.*  
*Of the States of Holland, and their admired Industry, and Navall strength.*  
 [Cautions not to be deluded by false Manuscripts.]

- A** *Discours of the vulgar languages of Europe, with their severall Dialects.*  
 ✓ *Of the richnesse of the English Tongue.*  
*Of the Pattuecos a People nere the heart of Spaine, never discovered til of late yeares.*  
 ✓ *Of the abuse of Forrain Travell.*  
*Of S. Thomas Moore Traveller.*  
*Of Ptolomeys Travellers, and of the most materiall use of Travel.*  
 ✓ *What cours a Traveller must take at his returne home.*  
*Of the Parliamentary Governement of England, and her happinesse therein above other Countreys.*  
*Of the Mathematicques; of Chymistry.*  
 [Caveat for not Engaging too far in Chymistry.]

CONTENTS OF THE APPENDIX, ADDED IN THE  
 SECOND EDITION OF 1650.

- [**T** *He Extent of the Turks Dominions*  
*The best waies for a Traveller to goe to Constantinople.*  
*Of Greece*  
*Of Constantinople*  
*The first sight makes the firmest impressions*  
*Of the Turkish Religion how it differs from others*  
*Of their Civill Government*  
*The speedinesse of Turkish Iustice*  
*Of the Turkes Militia*  
*Of their Punishments*  
*Of their Morall behaviour*  
*Of the Cran Cayr.]*



# INSTRUCTIONS

## [AND DIRECTIONS]

FOR

### Forraine Travell.

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#### SECTION. I.



Amongst those many advantages, which conduce to enrich the mind with [variety of] Knowledge, to rectify [and ascertain] the Iudgement, and [to] compose outward manners; [and build one up to the highest story of perfection, *Peregrination*, or] *Forraine Travell* is none of the least.

But to bee a Sedentary *Traveller* only, penn'd up between Wals, and to stand poring all day upon a Map, [upon Artificiall *Globes* or *Planisphares*,] upon imaginary Circles and Scales, is like him, who thought to come to bee a good Fencer, by looking on *Agrippa's* [or *Don Lius de Nervius'*] book-postures only: As also to run over and traverse the world by *Hearesay*, and traditionall relation, with other mens eyes, and so take all things upon courtesie, is but a confused and imperfect kind of speculation, which leaveth but weake and distrustfull notions behind it; in regard the *Eare* is

not so authentique a witness as the *Eye*; because the *Eye*, by which as through a cleare christall Casement, wee discern the various works of *Art* and *Nature*, and in one instant comprehend halfe the whole Vniverse in so small a roome after so admirable a manner, I say the *Eye* having a more quick and immediat commerce and familiarity with the *Soule* (being the principall of her *Cinq ports*, and her *Centinell* [being as it were her *centinell*, or the principall of her *Cinq ports*]) taketh in farre deeper Ideas, and so makes firmer and more lasting impressions, conveying the obiect more faithfully [and clearely] to the memory, where it remains afterward upon [lasting] record in particular *topicall* notes, [markes,] and indelible characters: For though I confesse with the *Stagirite*, that *Hearing* is the sense of *Learning* (and of *Faith* also, as the holy Text tels me) yet the *Sight* surpasseth it by many degrees [in point of activity and excellency], if [whether] you respect the curious workeman-ship [with the delicatenes] of the Organ, [and the advantage of situation being] *the readiest roade to the heart, and love's best Intelligencer and Usher*: As also for the penetrative apprehension of the object, with the intuitive vertue and force of affection, it worketh inwardly, as we find upon *good record* that a *heard of Sheepe* conceived once by the strength of the *Eye*, as likewise for the wonderfull quicknesse of this *Sense*, [Moreover this sense hath the preheminance of all the rest for the wonderfull quicknes of its motion,] which is such that it makes the *effect* oftentimes [seem to] fore-run the *cause*, as we see the *Lightning*, before wee *Heare* the *Thunder*, though thunder be first in Nature, being by the violent eruption it makes out of the [a] Cloud, the cause of such fulgurations. And [hereunto that] although one should reade all the Topographers that ever writ of, or anatomiz'd a Town or Countrey, and mingle Discourse with the most exact observers of the Government thereof, and labour to draw and draine out of them all they possibly know or can remember; Yet one's owne

Ocular view, and personall conversation will still find out something new and unpointed at by any other, either in the carriage [behaviour] or the *Genius* of the people, or in the *Policy* and municipall customes of the Countrey, or in the quality of the *Clime* and *Soyle*, and so enable him to discourse more knowvngly and confidently and vvith a kind of *Authority* thereof; It being an Act of parlament in force amongst all Nations: *That one Eye-witnesse is of more validity than ten Auricular.*

Moreover as *every one* is said to abound with his owne *sense*, and that among the race of man-kind, *Opinions* and *Fancies*, are found to be as various as the severall *Faces* and *Voyces*; So in each individuall man there is a differing facultie of *Observation*, of *Iudgement*, of *Application*, vvhich makes that every one is best satisfied, and most faithfully instructed by himselfe, I do not meane soley by himselfe, (*for so he may have a foole to his Master*) but *Books* also, and conversation with the *Dead* must concurre, for they are likevvise good Teachers, and edifie infinitely; yet the study of living men, and a collation of his ovvn *Optique* observations and judgement vvith theirs, vvork much more strongly, and where these meet (I meane the living and the dead) they perfect.

And indeed this is the prime use of *Peregrination*, which therefore may be not improperly called a *moving Academy*, or the true *Peripatetique Schoole*: This made *Ulysses* to be cryed up so much amongst the *Greeks* for their greatest wise man, because he had *Travelled* through many strange Countreys, and observed the manners of divers Nations, having seene, as it was said and sung of him, more *Cities* than there were *Houses* in *Athens*, which was much in that [green] age of the World: and the *Greatest* of their Emperours did use to glory in nothing so often, *as that he had surveyed more Land with his Eye, than other Kings could comprehend with their thoughts.*

Amongst other people of the Earth, *Islanders*

to stand in most need of *Forraine Travell*, for they being cut off (as it were) from the rest of the Citizens of the World, have not those obvious accessses, and contiguity of situation, and [with] other advantages of society, to mingle with those more refined Nations, whom Learning and Knowledge did first Vrbanize and polish. And [Now] as all other things by a kind of secreet instinct of Nature follow the motion of the Sun, so it is observed that the *Arts* and *Sciences* which are the greatest helps to Civility, and all *Morall* endowments as well as *Intellectuall*, have wheel'd about and travell'd in a kind of concomitant motion with that great Luminary of Heaven: They *budded* first amongst the *Brachmans* and *Gymnosophists* in *India*, then they *bloussom'd* amongst the *Chaldeans* and *Priests* of *Egypt* whence they came down the *Nile*, and crossed over to *Greece*, and there [where] they may bee said to have *borne ripe fruit*, having taken such firme rooting, and making so long a *Plantation* in *Athens* and else where: Afterwards they found the way to *Italy*, and thence they clammer'd over the *Alpian* hills to visit *Germany* and *France*, whence the *Britaines* with other North-west Nations of the lower World fetch'd them over; and it is not improbable that the next Flight they will make, will bee to the Savages of the new discovered World [*in America*], and so turne round, and by this circular perambulation visit the *Levantines* again.

Hence we see what a *Traveller Learning* hath beene having in conformitie of cours, been a kind of companion to *Apollo* himselfe: And as the Heavenly bodies are said to delight in movement and perpetuall circumgyration, wherein as *Pythagoras*, who by the *Delphian* Oracle was pronounced, the wisest man that ever Greece bredd, did hold, there was a kind of Musique and Harmonious concert that issued out of this regular motion, which we cannot perceive, because being borne in it, it is connaturall to us, so it is observed to be the Genius of all active and generous Spirits,



*Quêis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.*

[*Whom Titian with his gentle ray,  
Hath Moulded of a finer clay;*]

To have been always transported with a desire of *Travell*, and not to be bounded, or confined within the shoares and narrow circumference of an *Island*, without ever-treading any peece of the *Continent*; whereas on the other side, meane and vulgar spirits, whose *Soules* fore no higher than their *Sense*, love to hover ever about home, lying still as it were at dead anchor, moving no further than the length of the cable, whereunto they are tyed, not daring to lance out into the maine, to see the wonders of the deep: Such a one was hee of whom *Claudian* speakes, to have had his *birth*, *breeding*, and *buriall* in one Parish; [whence he never had fallied out the whole course of his life:] such slow and sluggish spirits may be said to bee like *Snailles* or *Tortuises* in their shels, crawling always about their own home, or like the *Cynique*, shut up always in a Tub.

Amongst other Nations of the World the *English* are observed to have gained much, and improved themselves infinitely by voyaging both by Land and Sea, and of those foure *Worthies* who compassed about the Terrestriall Globe, I find the major part of them were *English*, but the scope of this Discours is to prescribe precepts for *Land Travell* only (for the other requires another Tract apart) and first,

*A Iove principium* ———

*Sic feret antennas aura secunda tuas.*

[*Begin with Iove, then an auspicious gale  
Will fill thy sayles, and to safe harbour hale.*]

## SECT. II.



T is very requisite that hee who exposeth himselfe to the hazard of *Forraine Travell*, should bee well grounded and settled in his *Religion*, the *beginning* and *basis* of all Wisdome, and somewhat versed in the Controversies 'twixt us and [other Churches,] the Church of *Rome*, which I presume he hath done in the *Univerfity*, where (I take it for granted, hee hath been matriculated, and besides his initiation in the *Arts* and *Sciences*, and [hath] learn't to chop *Logick* (and [now] *Logick* though she be no *Science* of her self, but as she is subservient to another, *Like the Shoemakers Last, that may bee applyable to any foot*, yet no *Science* can bee rightly studied without her method, nor indeed can the termes of *Art* be well understood, or any Scholler-like discours fram'd but by *her*) where I say, [I presume that my Traveller hath bin first an Univerfity man,] besides these studies, [where besides other introductions to knowledge,] he hath sucked the pure milke of true Religion, and Orthodoxall truth, and such a one will be rather confirmed, than shaken in the tenets of his *Faith*, when he seeth [the indecencies, irreuerence, and bold Prophane postures in som churches, as well as] the fundry fond fantastique formes, which have crept into the solemne service [worship] of God, [in other places] since the primitive times, for the *practise* of the *Roman Church* is worse than her *positions*, [Now for the *Roman Church*, he may obserue that som of her *Practises* have given men more occasion of Forfaking Her, than her *Positions*,] so that [for] I have knowne some, [divers] who were [being] wrought upon very far by the one, [to be] averted [from her] again by the other, I meane by [the multitud of] her Ceremonies, which in some places are so mimicall, and set forth in such antique postures, that it may be not improperly sayd, [that they give her Enemies occasion of advantage to say, that] whereas *Religion*

should go array'd in a grave *Matron*-like habit, [they vse to cloath her by the dresse of some Saints] they have clad her rather like a wanton *Courtisane* in light dresse: [to please the outward base and the common people.] Such a one, I meane he that is well instructed in his own *Religion*, may passe under the torrid Zone, and not bee Sun-burnt, if he carry this *bon-grace* about him, or [and] like the River *Danube* which scornes to mingle with the muddy streame of *Sava*, though they run both in one Channell, or like [the chaste River] *Arethusa*, which *Travelleth* many hundred miles through the very bowels of the *Sea*, yet at her journeys end issueth out fresh again, without the least mixture of saltnesse or brackishnesse: So such a one may passe and repasse through the very midst of the *Roman See*, [(or *Geneva lake* either)] and shoot the most dangerous *Gulphe* thereof, and yet returne home an *untainted* [English] Protestant; nay he will be confirmed in zeale to his owne *Religion*, and illuminated the more with the brightnesse of the truth thereof; by the glaring lights and specious glosses, which the other useth to cast; For *Opposita juxta se posita magis elucescunt*. Nay the more he is encompassed with the superstitions, of the contrary, [with the *coldnes* of some Churches and the too many ceremonies of others,] the more he will bee strengthned in his own *Faith*; like a good Well useth to be hotter in Winter than Summer, *per Antiperistasin*, that is, by the coldnesse [frigidity] of the circumambient ayre, which in a manner besiegeth it round, and so makes the intrinsique heate, unite and concentre it selfe the more strongly to resist the invading Enemy.

After *Religion*, it is fitting he should be well versed in the *Topography*, *Government* and *History* of his own Country, for some are found *Foris sapere*, and *domi cæcutire*, to be *Eagles* abroad, and stark *Buzzards* at home, being not able to satisfie a stranger by exchange of discours, in any thing touching the State of their owne Country.

To this end it were not amisse to run over *Cambden*,

Sir *John Smiths* Common-wealth, with those short pieces of Story, as [Heywood,] *Daniel* and others who have written of the *English* Kings since the Conquest, and extract out of them, what traverses of war, what other passages and entercourses of State have happened 'twixt us and other Nations since the last Conquest, specially the *French* our nearest neighbors: It is also very behooffull, that he have a passable understanding of the *Latine* tongue, whereof the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and *French*, are but as it were *branches* of the same Tree; they are but *Dialects* or *Daughters*, and having gain'd the good will of the *Mother*, hee will quickly prevayle with the *Daughters*.

[It is requisite] That hee understand the use of the Map and Globe, to find out the Longitude and Latitude of all places, and to observe and compare the temper of them as hee shall passe along.

Lastly [tis most fitting] that hee seriously contemplate within himself, how the eyes of all the World are upon *Him*, as his are upon the *World*, [let him consider] what his parents, kindred and acquaintance, yea his Prince will expect at his returne: [Let him think] That he is now in the very forge of his hopes, either upon making or marring: That (being of Noble extraction) he is like to be a Star of the greatest Magnitude in the Spheare of his owne Countrey, therefore common qualities will not serve his turne, that the higher the building is, the more it requires exquisit forme and symmetry, that *Nobility* without inward ornaments is *as faire gilded shels without kernels, or like a fatten doublet with canvas linings*, whereas on the other side Vertue reflecting upon a Noble subject, is as the Sunbeames falling [glancing] upon a rock of Cristall, which makes the reverberation stronger and far more resplendent, or as rich gold-embrodery, upon a piece of [Florence] Tissue: Such thoughts as these will worke much upon an ingenious Spirit, and bee as a golden Spur, to set him forward, and cheere him in this high roade of Vertue, and Knowledge.

## S E C T. I I I.



He first Countrey that is most requisite for the *English* to know, is *France*, in regard of neighboured, of conformity in Government in divers things and necessary intelligence of State, and of [with] the use one shall have of that Language wheresoever he passe [passeth now] further : And the younger one goeth to *France* the better [it is], because of the hardnesse [difficulty] of the accent and pronounciation [to an english mouth], which will be hardly overcome by one who hath passed his minority, and in this point the *French Tongue* may bee said to be like *Fortune*, who, being a woman, loves youth best. Whereas for other Tongues, one may attaine to speake [the speaking of] them to very good purpose, and get their good will at any age ; the *French Tongue* by reason of the huge difference 'twixt their writing and speaking, will put one often into fits of despaire and passion, as wee read of one of the Fathers, who threw away *Persius* against the wals, saying, *si non vis intelligi debes negligi*, [if thou wilt not be vnderstood go hang thy selfe ;] but the Learner [of French] must not bee daunted [choleric] awhit at that, but [though she neither writes as she speakes, nor pronounce as she writes, yet she must not shake you off so, but] after a little intermission hee must come on more strongly, and with a pertinacity of resolution set upon her again and againe, and woe her as one would do a coy Mistres, with a kind of importunity, untill he overmaster her [and she will be very plyable at last].

Indeed some of riper plants [years] are observed to over-act themselves herein, for while they labour to *trencher le mot*, to *cut the word*, as they say, and speake like naturall *French-men*, and to get the true genuine tone (and [now] every tongue hath a tone or tune peculiar to her self, specially the *French*, which hath a whining kind of querulous tone specially amongst the peasantry, which I beleeve proceeded from that pittifull slavery

[subjection] they are brought unto) I say while they labour for this, they fall a lipping and mincing, and to distort and strain their mouths and voyce, so that they render themselves fantastique and ridiculous; let it bee sufficient for one of riper yeares, to speake *French* intelligibly, roundly, and congruouly without such forc'd affectation.

The *French tongue* like the [Gentry of that] Nation, is a bold and hardy speach, therefore the learner must not be bashfull or meale mouth'd in speaking any thing, whatsoever it is, let it come forth confidently whither true or false *Sintaxis*; for a bold vivacious spirit hath a very great advantage in attaining the *French*, or indeed any other Language [over a soft and bashfull nature]: He must be cautious not to force any *Anglicismes* upon the *French Tongue*, that is certaine vulgar Phrases, Proverbs, and Complements, which are peculiar to the *English*, and not vendible or used in *French*, as I heard of one that could not forbear a great while to salute his Land-Lord by *bon matin*: Another would be alwayes complaining at play of his *mauvaise Fortune*: Another when at the racket court he had a ball struck into his hazard, hee would ever and anon cry out, *estes vous là avec vos Ours*, *Are you there with your Beares?* which is ridiculous in any other language but *English*, for every speech hath certaine *Idiomes*, and customary *Phrases* of its own, and the *French*, of all other, hath a kind of contumacy of phrase, in respect of our manner of speaking, proper to it selfe.

He must alwayes have a *Diary* about him, when he is in motion of Journeys, to set down what [either his eares heare, or] his *Eyes* meetes with most remarkable in the day time, out of which he may raise matter of discours at night, and let him take it for a rule, that *Hee offend lesse who writes many toyes, than he, who omits one serious thing*. For the Penne maketh the deepest furrowes, and doth fertilize, and enrich the memory more than any thing else,

*Littera scripta manet, sed manant lubrica verba.*

It were very requisite to have a book of the *Topographicall* description of all places, through which hee passeth; and I think *Bertius*, or the Epitome of *Ortelius*, which are small and portable, would be the best. At his first coming to any Citie he should repaire to the chief Church (if not Idolatrous) to offer up his sacrifice of thanks, that hee is safely arrived thither, and then some have used to get on the top of the highest Steeple, where one may view with advantage, all the Countrey circumjacent, and the site of the City, with the advenues and approaches about it; and so take a Landskip of it.

Being come to *France*, his best cours will be to retire to some Vniversity about the *Loire*, unfrequented by the *English*, for the greatest bane of *English* Gentlemen abroad, is too much frequency and communication with their own Countrey-men, and there let him apply himselfe seriously to gaine the practicall knowledge of the *Language*, and for the time *hoc agere*. [Which hee may doe by studying matter as well as words. And] This hee may do with more advantage, if hee repaires sometimes to the *Courts of Pleading*, and to the *Publique Schooles*; For in *France* they presently fall from the *Latine*, to dispute in the vulgar tongue: So that it were not amisse for him to spend some time in the *New Academy*, erected lastly by the *French* Cardinall in *Richelieu*, where all the *Sciences* are read in the *French* tongue, which is done of purpose to refine, and enrich the *Language* [as well as to encourage the Gentry to the Arts].

Some have used it as a prime help to advance *Language*, to have some ancient Nunne for a *Divota*, with whom hee may chat at the grates, when hee hath little else to do, for the *Nunnes* speake a quaint Dialect, and besides they have most commonly all the *Newes* that passe, and they will entertaine discours till one bee weary, if hee bestow on them now and then some small bagatels, as *English Gloves* or *Knifs*, or *Ribands*; and before hee go over, hee must furnish himselfe with such

small curiosities; but this I dare not advise him to [this must be done with much caution], in regard the *Hazard* one way may be greater, than the *Advantage* the other way.

In this retirement he must assigne some peculiar dayes to read the *History* of the Countrey exactly, which is a most usefull and delightfull study: For in *History*, that great *Treasury of Time*, and *promptuary of Heroique actions*, there are *words* to speake, and *works* to imitat, with rich and copious matter to raise Discours upon: *History*, next to *Eternity* only triumphs over *Time*, she, only after *God Almighty* can do miracles, for shee can bring back *Age past*, and give life to the *Dead*, to whom she serves as a sacred shrine to keep their names immortall.

Touching *Books* he must choose them, as hee should do his *Friends*, *Few*, but *Choyce* ones, yet he may have many *Acquaintance*: And as for *morall* society, the greatest *Wisdom* of a man is discerned in a judicious election of his friends, which are as *Commentaries* upon one's selfe, and are more necessary than fire and water, as the *Philosopher* said: So for speculative and *private* conversation with *Authors* our *dead Associates*, there must be most judgement used in the choice of them, specially when there is such a confusion of them, as in *France*, which as *Africk* produceth always somthing New, for I never knew week passe in *Paris*, but it brought forth some new kinds of *Authors*; but let him take heed of *Tumultuary*, and *disjointed* *Authors*, as well as of *frivolous*, and *pedantique*.

And touching *Bookes*, as a noble speculative *Lord* of this Land said, some are to be *tasted* only, some *chewed*, and some *swallowed*: Hereunto I will adde that some are to be *dissected* and *anatomized* into *Epitomes* and *Notes*.

To this purpose for the generall *History* of *France*, *Serres* is one of the best, and for the moderne times *d'Aubigni*, *Pierre Mathieu*, and *du Pleix*; for the politicall and martiall government, *du Haillan*, *de*



*la Nouë, Bodin, and the Cabinet; Touching Commines, who was contemporary with Machiavil, 'twas a witty speech of the last Queen mother of France, that he made more Heretiques in Policy, than Luther ever did in Religion: Therefore he requires a reader of riper years.*

The most difficult taske in gaining a forrain language is to turne *English* into it, for to translate another *Tongue* into *English*, is not halfe so hard nor profitable. In reading hee must couch in a faire Alphabetique paper-book the notablest occurences, such alliances, and encounters of warre (speciall in the *last Race* of the Kings) that have intervned 'twixt *England* and *France*, and set them by themselves in Sections. When he meets with any great businesse, hee must observe therein the *preceding Counsels, the action it selfe, the motives of it, and the mould wherein it was cast, the progresse and even of it* [*with the aym and end of it*], which if successeful, he must note by what kind of Instruments, confederations and cours of policy it was carried, if not, where the difficulties and defects lay. The manner and method in reading of *Annalists* is infinitely advantagious, if one take his rise handsomely from the beginning, and follow the series of the matter, the Epoch of the times, and regular succession and contemporarineesse of Princes; otherwise if one read skippingly and by snatches, and not take the *threed* of the story along, it must needs puzzle and distract the memory, wherein *his observations will lye confusedly huddled up, like a skeine of intangle silk.*

For *Sundayes* and *Holydayes*, there bee many Treatises of Devotion in the *French* tongue, full of pathetick ejaculations and Heavenly raptures, and his *Closet* must not be without some of these. For he must make account before hand that his *Closet* must bee his *Church*, and chiefest *Chappel* abroad. Therefore it were necessary when he fixeth in any place, to have alwayes one in his chamber, whether to retire early and late, to his *soliloquies* and meditations, *the golden*

*keyes wherewith hee must open and shut the day, and let in the night, and [with] deaths Cousin-german [when goeth to bed].*

*Peter du Moulin hath many fine pieces to this purpose, du Plessis, Allencour, and others; and let him bee conversant with such Books only upon Sundayes, and not mingle humane Studies with them. His Closet also must be his Rendez-vous, whensoever hee is surprized with any fit of pensivenesse (as thoughts of Country and Kinred will often affect one) For no earthly thing exhilarats the heart more, and rayseth the spirits to a greater height of comfort than conversation with God, than peace with Heaven, than Spirituall Meditation, whereby the Soule melts into an inconceivable sweetnesse of delight, and is delivered from all distempers, from all tumultuary confusion and disturbance of thoughts: And [Now] there is none, let him have the humors never so well balanced within him, but is subject unto [such distempers and] anxiety of mind somtimes, for while we are composed of foure differing Elements, wherewith the humours within us symbolise we must have perpetuall ebbings and flowings of mirth and melancholy, which have their alternatiff turnes in us, as naturally as it is for the night to succeed the day: For as the Physicians hold there is no perfection of corporall health in this life, but a convalescence at best, which is a medium 'twixt health and sicknesse, so is it in the state of the mind. [There is no compleat and incontrouled comfort.] This extends from the Lord to the Laquay, from the Peasant to the Prince, whose Crown is oftentimes inlayed with thornes, whose robe is furred with feares, whereof the Ermine is no ill Embleme, having as many black spots in it as white; Nor is there any thing so hereditary to mankind as vexation of spirit, which doubtlesse was the ground the Pagan Philosopher built his opinion upon, that the Rationall soule was given to Man, for his self-punishment and martyrdome,*

— Man often is  
A tyrant to himselfe, a Phalaris.

But as when we go abroad, we cannot hinder the birds of the ayre to fly and flutter about our heads, yet we may hinder them to roost or nestle within our haire: So while we travaile in this life, we cannot prevent but myriads of melancholy cogitations, and [swarmes of] thoughtfull cares and longings will often seaze upon our imaginations, yet we may hinder these thoughts to build their nests within our bosomes, and [or] to descend from the head to the heart and take footing there; if they do, I told you before, what's this best cordiall to expell them thence.

There bee some *French Poets* will affoord excellent entertainment, specially *Du Bartas*, and 'twere not amisse to give a slight salute to *Ronzard*, *Desportes*, and the late *Theopile*: And touching *Poets*, they must be used like flowers, some must be only [some serve only to be] smelt unto, but some are good to be thrown into a Limbique to be [and] Distilled; whence the memory may carry away the Elixir of them, for true Poetry is the quintessence, or rather the Luxury of Learning. Let him runne over also the *Proverbs* of every Countrey, and cull out the choicest of them, for many of them carry much weight, wit, and caution, with them.

And every Nation hath certaine Proverbs and Adages peculiar to it selfe; Neither would it be time ill spent to reade *Æsop*e in every tongue, and make it his taske to relate some Fable every day to his Governour or some other by heart.

Thus the life of a Traveller is spent either in Reading, in Meditation, or in Discours: by the first hee converseth with the Dead, by the second with Himselfe, by the last with the Living, which of all the three is most advantagious for attaining a Language, the life whereof consists in societie and communication; let his Chamber be street ward to take in the common cry and Language, and [to] see how the Town is serv'd [and the world wags about him], for it will bee no unprofitable diversion to him, but for his Closet let it bee in the inner part.

## S E C T. I V.



Having by the retirement aforefaid attained to a converfable Knowledge in the *French* tongue, hee may then adventure upon *Paris*, and the Court, and vifit Ambaffadors, and going in the equipage of a young Nobleman, hee may entertaine a Cooke, a Laquay, and fome young [French] youth for his Page, to parley and chide withall, (whereof he fhall have ocaſion enough) and to get fome faire lodgings to keep houſe of himſelf, and [but] fometimes he may frequent Ordinaries, for it will much breake and enbolden him : As for expences, he muſt make accompt that every fervant he hath (whereof there ſhould be none *English* but his *Governour*) every one will ſtand him in 50 pounds a piece *per annum* ; And for his owne expences, he cannot allow himſelfe leſſe than 300 l. I include herein all forts of exerciſes, his *Riding*, *Dancing*, *Fencing*, the *Racket*, *Coach-hire*, with other caſuall charges, together with his *Apparell*, which if it bee *fashionable*, it matters not how *plaine* it is, it being a ridiculous vanity to go gaudy amongſt Strangers [in a ſtrange Country, ſpecially in *France*], it is, as if one ſhould light a candle to the Sun.

The time that he ſpends in *Paris*, muſt be chiefly employed to improve himſelfe in the exerciſes aforeſaid, for there the choyceſt Maſters are of any part of Chriſtendome. Hee muſt apply himſelfe alſo to know the faſhion and garb of the Court, obſerve the Perſon and Genius of the Prince, enquire of the greateſt Noble-men, and their Pedigree (which I recommend to his ſpeciall conſideration) of the Favorits and Prime Counſellors of State, the moſt eminent Courtiers, and if there bee any famous man, to ſeek converſation with him, for it was the ſaying of a great *Emperour*, that he had rather go fifty miles to heare a wiſe man, than five to ſee a faire City.

For private Gentlemen and Cadets, there be divers *Academies* in *Paris*, Colledge-like, where for 150 pif-tols a yeare, which come to about 110 l. sterling *per annum* of our money, one may be very well accommodated, with lodging and diet for himfelfe and a man, and be taught to Ride, to Fence, to manage Armes, to Dance, Vault, and ply the *Mathematiques*.

There are in *Paris* every week commonly fome *Odde*, *Pamphlets* and *Pafquils* difperfed, and drop'd up and down; for there is no where elfe that monftrous liberty (yet *London* hath exceeded her farre now of late, the more I am fory) which with the *Gazets* and *Courants* hee fhould do well to reade weekly, and raife Difcourf thereon, for though there be many triviall paffages in them, yet are they couched in very good Language, and one fhall feele the generall pulfe of *Chriftendome* in them, and know the names of the moft *famous men* that are up and down the World in action.

Some do ufe to have a fmall leger booke fairely bound up table-book-will [table-book wife], wherein when they meet with any perfon of note and eminency, and journey or penfion with him any time, they defire him to write his Name, with fome fhort Sentence, which they call *The mot of remembrance*, the perufall whereof will fill one with no unpleafing thoughts of dangers and accidents paffed.

One thing I muft recomend to his fpeciall care, that he be very punctuall in writing to his Friends once a month at leaft, which hee muft do exactly, and not in a carelefse perfunctory way, *For Letters are the Ideas and trueft Mirror of the Mind, they fhew the inside of a man*, and by them it will be difcerned how he improveth himfelfe in his courfes abroad: there will be plenty of matter to fill his letters withall once a month at leaft: And by his *Miffives* let it appeare that he doth not only *Remember*, but *meditate* on his Friend; not to fcribble a few curfory lines, but to write elaborately and methodically, and thereby hee will quickly come

to the habit of writing well: And [Now] of all kind of Humane Meditations, those of ones absent Friends be the pleasingst, specially when they are endeared and nourished by correspondence of Letters, which by a Spirituall kind of power do [can] enamour, and mingle Soules more sweetly than any embraces.

## SECTION. V.



HAVING Wintered thus in *Paris*, that hudge (though durty) Theater of all Nations (and Winter is the fittest season to be there) and plyed [also] his exercifes to some perfection, the fittest Countrey for him to see next is *Spaine*, and in his Journey thither he shall traverse the whole diameter of *France* one way, and passing through *Gascoigne* and *Languedoc*, hee shall prepare himselfe by degrees to endure the heate of the *Spanish* clime; let him not encumber himselfe with much loggage: and for his *Apparell*, let him as soon as he enters *Spaine* go after their fashion, for as a *Spaniard* looks like a bug-bear in *France* in his own cut, so a *Frenchman* appears ridiculous in *Spaine*: nor would I advise him to cary about him any more money than is absolutly necessary to defray his expences, for some in this particular have bene *Peny-wise* and *Pound-foolish*, who in hopes of some small benefit in the rates, have left [lost] their principall, exposing their *Persons* and *Purses*, to dayly hazard, and inviting (as it were) unto them danger for their *Companion*, and feare for their *bed-fellow*.

For although Sir *Thomas More* wisheth one to carry always his *Friends* about him, abroad, by which hee meanes *pieces of gold*: Yet too great a number of such *Friends*, is an *encomber* and may betray him: It will make his Journey all along to be a *Motus trepidationis*. And he that loades himselfe with a charge of money, when he may carry it about him with such security, and ease, in a small piece of paper, I meane a Letter of credit, or Bill of exchange; is as wise as he, *who*

carried the coach-wheele upon his back, when he might have trilled it before him all along.

In *Spaine* hee must bee much more carefull of his diet, abstemious from fruit, more reserved and cautelous in his Discours, but entertaine none at all touching *Religion*, unlesse it be with *Silence*; a punctuall repaire of visits, extraordinary humble in his comportment; for the *Spaniards*, of all other, love to be respected at their own homes, and cannot abide an insolent cariage in a Stranger; On the other side, *Courtesie* and *Morigeration*, will gaine mightily upon them, and *courtesie* is the chiefeest cognisance of a Gentleman, which joyned with discretion, can only Travaile all the World over without a *Passport*, and of all sorts of Friends, he is the cheapest who is got by *Courtesie*, and *Complement* only: Moreover a respectfull and humble cariage, is a mighty advantage to gaine Intelligence and Knowledge; It is the Key that opens the breast, and unlocks the heart of any one: He that looked downward, saw the Stars in the water, but he who looked only upward could not see the water in the Stars: therefore there is much more to bee got by *Humility* than otherwise.

One thing I would diffwade him from, which is from the excessive commendation and magnify[i]ng of his own Countrey; for it is too much observed, that the *English* suffer themselves to be too [over] much transported with this subject, [using] to undervalue and vilifie other Countreys, for which I have heard them often censured. *The Earth is the Lords, and all the corners thereof, he created the Mountaines of Wales, as well as the Wiles of Kent; the rugged Alpes, as well as the Fertile plaines of Campagnia, the boggy fenues of Frizeland, as well as the daintiest Valleys [Champions] in France; and to inveigh against, or deride a Countrey for the barrenesse thereof, is tacitly [by inference] to taxe God Almighty of Improvidence and Partiality.* And it had beene wished, some had beene more temperate in this theme at their being in the *Spanish* Court, in the yeare 1623. For my part, as the *Great Philosopher* holds it for a maxime,

that *Mountaignous people*, are the most pious; so are they observed to be the hardiest, as also the barrener a *Countray* is, the more *Masculine and Warlike* the spirits of the *Inhabitants* are, having as it were more of men in them; Witnesse the *Scythian and Goth*, and other rough-hewen hungry *Nations*, which so often over-ranne *Italy*, for all her *Policy and Learning*; and herein Nature may seeme to recompence the hard condition of a *Countray* the other way.

Having passed the *Pyreneys* hee shall palpably discern (as I have observed in another larger *Discours*) the suddeneſt and strangeſt difference 'twixt the Genius and Garb of two People, though distant but by a very small separation, as betwixt any other upon the surface of the Earth; I knowe *Nature delights and triumphs in dissimilitudes*; but here, shee seemes to have industriously, and of set purpose studied it; for they differ not onely *Accidentally and Outwardly* in their *Cloathing and Cariage, in their Diet, in their Speeches and Customes*; but even *Essentially* in the very *faculties of the Soule*, and *operations* thereof, and in every thing else, *Religion* and the forme of a *Rationall* creature only excepted; which made *Doctor Garcia* thinke to aske a *Midwife* once, whither the *Frenchman* and *Spaniard* came forth into the World in the same posture from the womb or no.

Go first to the *Operations* of the *Soule*, the one is *Active* and *Mercuriall*, the other is *Speculative* and *Saturnine*: the one *Quick* and *Ayry*, the other *Slow* and *Heavy*; the one *Discursive* and *Sociable*, the other *Reserved* and *Thoughtfull*; The one addicth himselfe for the most part to the study of the *Law* and *Canons*, the other to *Positive* and *Schoole Divinity*; the one is *Creatura sine Præterito et Futuro*, the other hath too much of both; the one is a *Prometheus*, the other an *Epinetheus*; the one *apprehends and forgets quickly*, the other doth both *slowly*, with a judgement more abstruce and better fixed, *et in se reconditum*; the one will dispatch the weightiest affaires as hee walke along in the



streets, or at meales, the other upon the least occasion of businesse will retire solemnly to a room, and if a Fly chance to humabout him, it will discompose his thoughts, and puzzle him: It is a kind of sicknesse for a *Frenchman* to keep a *Secret* long, and all the drugs of *Egypt* cannot get it out of a *Spaniard*.

The *French* capacity, though it apprehend and assent unto the *Tenets* of *Faith*, yet he resteth not there, but examines them by his *owne reason*, debates the businesse *pro et contra*, and so is often gravelled upon the quick sands of his own brain, the *Spaniard* cleane contrary by an *implicite Faith* and *generall Obedience* beleeves the *Canons* and *Determination* of the *Church*, and presently subjects his *Understanding* thereunto, he sets bounds to all his *Wisdom* and *Knowledge*, and labours to avoyd all *Speculation* [doubtings and dissertation] thereon, fearing through the frailty of his *Intellectuals*, to fall into some Error.

Go to their *Garb* and *Clothing*, the one weares *long haire*, the other *short*; the one goes *thin and open clad*, the other *close and warm*, so that although the Sun should dart down his rayes like lances upon him, yet he could not bee brought to open one button of his doublet; the one goes *gay without*, the other *underneath*; the one weares his *Cloake long*, the other *short*; so, that one might give him a Suppositor with his *Cloake* about him, if need were; the one puts on his *Doublet first*, the other *last*; the *Frenchman* buttoneth alwayes *down-ward*, the *Spaniard upward*; the one goes *high-heeled*, the other *low and flat*, yet looks as high as the other; the one carieth a *Combe* and *Looking-glasse* in his pocket, the other a piece of *bayes* to wipe off the dust of his shooes: And if the one hath a *Fancy* to *stars* [*starch*] his mustachos, the other hath a leather *bigothero* to lye upon them all night; the first thing the one pawns, being in necessity, is his *Shirt*, the other his *Cloak*, and so by degrees his *Cassoke* goes off, and then his *Doublet*; the one cares more for the *Back*, and outward appearance, the other prefers the *Belly*;

the one is constant in his fashion, for the other 'tis impossible to put him in a constant kind of *Habit*,

———— You may as soone

*Cut out a kirtle for the Moone.*

Go to their *Diet*, the one drinkes *Watered Wine*, the other *Wine watered*; the one *begins* his repast, where the other *ends*; the one *begins* with a *Sallet*, and *light meat*, the other concludeth his repast so; the one begins with his *boyled*, the other with his *roast*; the *Frenchman* will *Eate* and *Talke*, and *Sing* sometimes, and so his *Teeth* and his *Tongue* go often together, the *Spaniards Teeth* only walk, and fals closely to it with as little noyse and as solemny as if he were at *Masse*.

Go to their *Gate*, the *Frenchman* walks *fast*, (as if he had a *Sergeant* always at his heeles,) the *Spaniard* *slowly*, as if hee were newly come out of some quartan *Ague*; the *French* go up and down the streets *confusedly* in clusters, the *Spaniards* if they be above three, they go two by two, as if they were going a *Procefsion*; the *French Laquays* march *behind*, the *Spaniards* *before*; the one *beckens* upon you with his hand cast *upward*, the other *downward*; the *Frenchman* will not stick to pull out a *Peare* or some other thing out of his pocket, and eat it as he goes along the street, the *Spaniard* will starve rather than do so, and *would never forgive himselfe*, if he should commit such a *rudenesse*; the *Frenchman* if he spies a *Lady* of his acquaintance, he will make boldly towards her, salute her with a *kisse*, and offer to *Vsher* her by the hand or arme, the *Spaniard* upon such an encounter, useth to recoyle backward, with his hands hid under his *Cloack*, and for to *touch or kisse* her, he holds it a *rudenesse beyond all barbarisme*, a kind of *sacrededge*; the *Frenchmen* is best and most proper on *Horseback*, the *Spaniard* a *foot*; the one is good for the *Onset*, the other for a *retrait*: the one like the *Wind* in the *Fable*, is full of ruffling fury, the other like the *Sun*, when they went to try their strength upon the *Passengers Cloake*. The one takes the *ball before the bound*, *A la volee*, the other *stayeth for the*

*fall*; the one *shuffleth the Cards better*, the other *playes his game more cunningly*; your *French-man* is much the fairer *Duellist*, for when hee goeth to the *Field*, he commonly puts off his doublet and opens his breast; the *Spaniard* cleane contrary, besides his shirt, hath his doublet quilted, his coat of maile, his cassock, and strives to make himselfe impenetrable.

Go to their *Tune*, the one delights in *Ionique*, the other altogether in the *Dorique*.

Go to their *Speech*, the one *Speakes oft*, the other *feldome*; the one *Fast*, the other *slowly*; the one *mangleth, cuts off, and eates many Letters*, the other *pronounceth all*; the one *contracts and enchaines* his words, and speakes *presingly and short*, the other delights in *long breathed Accents*, which he prolates with such *pauses*, that before he be at the period of his Sentences, one might reach a *Second thought*: The ones *Mind* and *Tongue* go commonly together (and the *first* comes sometimes in the arreare) the others *Tongue* comes flagging a furlong after his *mind*, in such a distance, that they feldome or never meet and justle one another.

In fine *Mercury* swayeth ore the one, and *Saturne* ore the other, infomuch that out of the premiffes, you may inferre, that there is an *Intellectuall, Politicall, Morall* and *Naturall* op[p]osition betweene them both in their *Comportement, Fancies, Inclinations, Humours*, and the very *Understanding*, so that one may say, *What the one is, the other is not*; and [all this] in such a visible discrepency, that if one were fetched from the remotest parts of the Earth, [which] the Sunne displayeth his beames upon, yea from the very *Antipods*, he would agree with either better, than they do one with another.

SECT. VI.



And truly I have many times and oft busied my spirits, and beaten my brains here-upon, by taking information from *dead and living men*, and by my own *practicall observations*, to know the true cause of this

strange *antipathy* betwixt two such potent and so neare neighbouring *Nations*, which bringeth with it such [so great a] mischief into the World ; and keepes *Christendome* in a perpetuall alarme: For although the *Ill Spirit* bee the principall Author thereof, as *being the Father and fomenter of all discord and hatred* (it being also part of the *Turkes letany, that warres should continue still betweene these two potent Nations*) to hinder the happy fruit that might grow out of their Vnion: yet nevertheless it must bee thought that hee cannot shed this poyson, and sow these cursed tares, unlesse hee had some grounds to work his designe upon.

And to fly to the ordinary termes of *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*, I know it is the *common refuge of the ignorant, when being not able to conceive the true reason of naturall Actions and Passions in divers things, they fly to indefinite generality, and very often to these inexplicable termes of Sympathy and Antipathy.*

Some as Doctor *Garcia*, and other Philofophicall Authors, attribute this opposition to the *qualities of the clymes and influences of the Stars, which are known to beare sway over all Sublunary bodiës, infomuch that the position of the Heavens, and Constellations, which hang over Spaine, being of a different vertue and operation to that of France, the temper and humours of the Natives of the one, ought to bee accordingly disagreeing with the other.*

*An opinion which may gaine credit and strength from the authority of the famous Hippocrates, who in his Book of Ayre, Water, and Climes, affirmeth that the diversity of Constellations, cause a diversity of Inclinations, of humors and complexions ; and make the bodies where-upon they operate, to receive fundry sorts of impresions. Which reason may have much apparance of truth, if one consider the differing fancies of these two Nations, as it hath reference to the Predominant Constellations, which have the vogue, and qualifie the Seasons amongst them.*

*For then when the heate beginneth in Spaine, the violence thereof lasteth a long time without intensiõ, or re-*

*mission, or any considerable change, the humour of the Spaniard is just so, for if he resolves once upon a thing he perseveres, he ponders and dwels constantly upon it, without wavering from his first deliberation; it being one of his prime axiomes, that Deliberandum est diu, quod statuendum est semel.*

*It is farre otherwise in France, for be it Sommer or Winter, Autumne or Spring, neither the cold nor heate, nor serenity of Ayre continueth nere so long, without a sensible vicissitude and change; so that it may be truly said there in the morning,*

*Nescis quid ferus Vesper trahat.*

*Therefore it being granted that all Elementary bodies depend upon the motion and vertue of the Heavenly; the people of France must of necessity partake of the inconslancy of the Clime, both in their passions and dispositions.*

*But this reason though probable enough, resolves not the question to the full; for although we should acknowledge, that the Celestiall bodies by their influxions, do dōmineere over Sublunary creatures, and tosse and tumble the humours and the masse of bloud, as they list; it cannot be said, notwithstanding, that this vertue extends to those actions that depend immediatly upon the absolute empire of the Will, with the other faculties and powers of the soule, which are meerely Spirituall, as Love and Hatred, with the like.*

*They that dispute thus, have much reason on their side, yet if we consider well the order and method that our Understanding and Wils do use in the production of their actions, we shal find, that the influence of the Heavenly bodies must have something to do therein, though indirec̄tly and accidentally: for all Terrestriall creatures by a graduall kind of subordination, being governed by the Heavenly, it must needs follow that whatsoever is naturall in man, as the organs of the body, and all the senses must feele the power of their influence.*

*Now is the Soule so united and depends so farre upon the senses, that she cannot produce any act, unlesse they ministerially concurre and contribute thereunto, by present-*

ing the matter to her, which is the intelligibles species : Whence it necessarily comes to passe, that in regard of this straight league and bond, which is betweene them, she partakes somewhat, and yealds to that dominion, which the Starres have over the sensuall appetite, which together with the Will, are dispossed off, and incited (I will not say forced) by their influxes.

And as that famous Wisard, the oldest of the Trismegisti, did hold, that the Intelligences which are affixed to every Spheare, doe worke through the organs of the body upon the faculties of the mind, (an opinion almost as old as the World it selfe) so it may be said more truly, that by the sensuall appetite, by the frailty and depravation of the will, the Heavenly bodies worke very farre upon the Spirituall Powers and passions of the Soule, and affect them diversly, though by accident and indirectly, as I said before. The position therefore of the Heavens and Asterismes, which governe the Spanish Clime, being different in their vertue and operations to them of France, the Minds and Fancies of both People, must by a necessary consequence bee also different.

Yet [But] notwithstanding that this assertion be true, yet it doth not follow, that the *Influxions of the Starres and diversity of Climes*, are the sole cause of this *Antipathy and Averfenesse*, for there are many *Nations* which live under farre more distant and differing *Climes*, which disaffect not one another in that degree, therefore there must be some other concurring *Accidents* and extraordinary motive of this evill.

I reade it vpon record in the *Spanish Annales*, that *Lewis the eleventh* desiring a personall Conference with the King of *Castile*, they both met upon the borders, the *Spaniards* came full of Iewels and Gold Chaines and richely apparelled : *Lewis*, though otherwise, a wise and gallant Prince, yet had he an humour of his own, to weare in his hat a Medaille of Lead, which he did at his enterview, nor were his attendants, but *Regis ad Exemplum*, but meanely accoutred ; which made the *Spaniards* despise them, and make disdainfull Libels

of them, which broake out afterwards into much *contempt* and *disaffection*, which came to bee aggravated more and more.

And if we say that the *Devoll* made use of this occasion to engender that violent *Hatred*, which raignes between these two *Nations*, it would not bee much from the purpose, for *the least advantage in the World is sufficient for him to infuse his venom where he finds hearts never so little disposed to receive it*, either by *naturall* or *contingent* causes.

Adde hereunto the vast extent of greatnesse the *Spaniard* is come to within these *Six score yeares*, by his fundry new acquest, which fills the *French* full of jealousies, of emulation, and apprehension of feare, and 'tis an olde Aphorisme, *Oderunt omnes, quem metuunt*.

Furthermore, another concurring motive may be, that there passe usually over the *Pyreneys*, from *Gascoigne* and *Bearne* great numbers of poore *French* tatter-dimallians, being as it were the Scumme of the Countrey, which do all the fordid and abject offices to make a purse of money, whereof *Spaine* is fuller than *France*; from *Spaine* also there come to *France* many poore *Spaniards* to bee cured of the Kings Evill; the common people of both *Nations* measuring the whole by the part, and thinking all to be such, it must needs breed mutuall apprehension of disdain and aversion between them; so that what was at first *Accidentall* seemes in tract of time, and by these degrees to diffuse it selfe like Originall sinne from Father to Sonne, and become *Naturall*.

But I have beene transported too farre by this speculation, considering that I proposed to my selfe brevity at first in this small discours.

#### SECT. VII.



And now being come from *France* to *Spaine*, make accoump for matter of fertility of soyle, that *you are come from Gods blessing, to the warme Sun*, who is somewhat too liberall of his beames here; which makes the

ground more barren, and consequently to be a kind of Wilderneffe in comparison of *France*, if you respect the number of People, the multitude of Townes, Hamlets, and Houses: for about the third part of the continent of *Spaine* is made up of huge craggie Hills and Mountaines, amongst which one shall feele in some places more difference in point of temper of heat and cold in the ayre, then 'twixt Winter and Sommer under other Climes. But where *Spaine* hath water and *Valleis* there she is extraordinarily fruitfull *such blefsings humilily carieth alwayes with her*. So that *Spaine* yeeldeth to none of her neighbours in perfection of any thing, but only in *Plenty*; which I beleeve was the ground of a Proverbe they have amongst them, *No ay cosa mala en Espana, sino lo que habla*, there is nothing ill in *Spaine*, but that which speakes: And did *Spaine* excell in *Plenty*, as she doth in *perfection* of what she produceth, especially did she abound in *Corne*, whereof she hath not enough for the fortieth mouth [month], as also had she *Men* enough whereof, besides the *Warres*, so many *Colonies* draine her, shee would prove formidable to all her *Neighbours*.

But let the *French* glory never so much of their Country as *being the richest embroidery of Nature upon Earth*, yet the *Spaniard* drinks better *Wine*, eates better *Fruits*, weares finer *Cloth*, hath a better *Sword* by his side, [goes better shod] and is better *Mounted* than he.

Being entred *Spaine*, he must take heed of *Posting* in that hot Countrey in the Summer time, for it may stirre the masse of bloud too much. When hee comes to *Madrid* (for I know no other place secure enough for a Protestant Gentleman to live in, by reason of the residence of our Ambassador [, though Merchants be free every where]) he may take new *Spanish* servants, for I presume he discharged his *French* when he forsooke *Paris*: There hee shall find the King constant all the Seasons of the yeare in the midst of his Kingdom, *as the heart in the body, or the Sun in the Firmament, whence the one giveth vigor to the little world, th'other to the great in equall proportion*. And the first



thing he must fall to, is *Language*, which hee shall find far more easie than the *French*, for in point of crabbednesse there is as much difference betweene the *French* and *Spanish*, as 'twixt *Logique* and [Naturall] *Philosophy*, the like may be said of the *Italian*, for a reasonable capacity may attaine both these Languages, sooner than *French* it selfe.

There was a *Spanish Doctor*, who had a fancy that *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *French*, were spoken in *Paradise*, that God Almighty commanded in *Spanish*, the Tempter perswaded in *Italian*, and Adam begged pardon in *French*.

I presume by the helpe of his *Governour* he hath made an introduction into the *Spanish* tongue before hee left *France*, so that in one Sommer and Winter he may easly come to speake it discoursively, and to good purpose; being in my judgement the easiest of all Languages, by reason of the openesse, and fulnesse of pronunciation, the agreement 'twixt the *Tongue* and the *Text*, and the freedome [it hath] from *Apostrophes*, which are the knots of a Language, as also for the proximity it hath with the *Latine*, for the *Spanish* is nought else but mere *Latine*, take a few *Moriseco* words away, which are easly distinguished by their guttural pronunciation, and these excepted, it approacheth nearer and resembleth the *Latine* more than *Italian*, her eldest Daughter, for I have beaten my braines to make one Sentence good *Italian* and congruous *Latin*, but could never do it, but in *Spanish* it is very feafable, as for Example, in this *Stanza*,

*Infausta Grecia tu paris Gentes,  
Lubricas, sodomiticas, dolofas,  
Machinando fraudes cautelofas,  
Ruinando animas innocentes, etc.*

which is *Latin* good enough, and yet is it vulgar *Spanish*, intelligible by every Plebeian.

*Mariana* and *Acosta*, are the most authentique *Annalists* of *Spaine*, and *Alvares* for the moderne story, *Lope de Vegas* works wil give good entertainment for *Verse*, and *Guevara* for pure *Prose*: Nor shall he

be distracted with that confusion of Authors, as, in *France*, and else where, for the *Spaniard* writes *feldom* but *foundly*, and in a quite differing straine from other *Nations* of Christendome, favouring rather of an *African* fancy, which argues that the *Moore* did much mingle with him.

About the fall of the leafe it were not amisse to make a iourney to *South Spaine*, to see *Sevill*, and the *Contratation House of the West Indies*, and (if he can) to get a copy of the *Constitutions* thereof, which is accounted the greatest *Mystery* in the *Spanish* Government, but he must shew himself neither too *busie*, nor too *bold* in this search; And if he be there at the arrivall of the Plate-Fleet, which usually commeth about that time, he shall see such a *Grandeza*, that the *Roman* Monarchy in her highest flourish never had the like, nor the *Gran Signior* at this day.

There he may converse with *Marchants*, and their conversation is much to be valued, for many of them are very gentile and knowing men in the affaires of the State, by reason of their long sojourn and actuall negotiations, and [law] processees in the Countrey: and in a short time, one may suck out of them, what they have been many yeares a gathering: And very materiall it is to know here, as every where else, what commodities the Countrey affoordeth most usefull for us, either for necessity or pleasure: And what *English* commodities are there in greatest request, and what proportions the Market usually beareth, for in the *commutative part of Government and Mercantile affaires*, lieth the most usefull part of policy 'twixt Countrey and Countrey; but this hee shall observe better in *Italy*, where the Prince holdeth it no disparagement to co-adventure, and put in his stake with the *Marchant*: So that the old *Clodian* Law is now of no force at all amongst them.

From *South Spaine* he may returne by *Granada*, *Murcia* and *Valencia*, and so to *Barcelona*, and then take the Gallies for *Italy*, for there are divers Fleets

paſſe in the yeare from thence with treaſure, and croſſe the Mediterranean to *Genoa*. And it is not amiſſe to ſee ſomething *by Sea*, and to embarque in a Fleet of Gallies will much adde to ones experience, and knowledge in Sea affaires, and in the *Art of Navigation*, which is more uſfull and important for *Engliſhmen*, and indeed for all *Iſlanders*, than others, becauſe their ſecurity depends upon the Sea, and upon wooden Horſes.

*Naviget hinc alia jam mihi linter aqua.*

SECT. VIII.



AVING put foot aſhoare in *Genoa*, I will not with him to ſtay long there, in regard the very worſt *Italian* dialeſt is ſpoken there, and beſides, as it is proverbially ſaid, there are in *Genoa*, *Mountaines without wood*, *Sea without fiſh*, *Women without ſhame*, and *Men without conſcience*, which makes them to be termed the *white Moores*: And when a *Few* (and the *Fews* are held the moſt Mercuriall people in the World, by reaſon of their ſo often transmigrations, perfecutions, and *Neceſſity*, which is the *Mother of Wit*) [I ſay when a *Few*] meeteth with a *Genoway*, and is to negotiat with him, he puts his fingers in his eyes, fearing to be overreached by him, and outmatched in cunning.

From thence let him haſten to *Toſcany*, to *Siena*, where the prime *Italian* dialeſt is ſpoken, and not ſtirre thence till he be maſter of the Language in ſome meaſure.

And being now in *Italy* that great limbique of working braines, he muſt be very circumſpect in his cariage, for ſhe is able to turne a *Saint* into a *Devill*, and deprave the beſt natures, if one will abandon himſelfe [to pleaſure], and become a prey to diſſolut courſes and wantonneſſe.

The *Italian*, being the *greateſt embracer of pleaſures*, [and] the *greateſt Courtier of Ladies* of any other. Here he ſhall find Vertue and Vice, Love and Hatred, Atheiſme

and Religion in their extremes; being a witty contemplative people; and *Corruptio optimi est pefsima*. Of the best wines you make your tartest vinegar.

*Italy* hath beene alwayes accounted the Nurse of Policy, Learning, Musique, Architecture, and Linning, with other perfections, which she disperfeth to the rest of *Europe*, nor was the *Spaniard* but a dunce, till he had taken footing in her, and so grew subtilized by co-alition with her people. She is the prime climat of Complement, which oftentimes puts such a large distance 'twixt the tongue and the heart, that they are feldome relatives, but they often give the lye one to another; some will offer to kisse the hands, which they wish were cut off, and would be content to light a candle to the Devill, so they may compasse their owne ends: He is not accounted essentially wise, who openeth all the boxes of his breast to any.

The *Italians* are for the most part of a speculative complexion (as I have discovered more amply in another Discours) and he is accounted little lesse than a foole, who is not melancholy once a day; they are only bountifull to their betters, from whom they may expect a greater benefit; To others the purse is closest shut, when the mouth openeth widest, nor are you like to get a cup of wine there, unlesse your grapes be known to be in the wine-presse.

From *Siena* he may passe to *Milan*, and so through the *Republiques* territories to *Venice* where he shall behold a thing of wonder, an *Impossibility in an impossibility*, a rich magnificent City feated in the very jaws of *Neptune*, where being built and bred a *Christian* from her very infancy, (a Prerogative she justly glorieth of above all other States,) she hath continued a *Virgin* ever since, nere upon twelve long ages, under the same forme and face of Government, without any visible change or symptome of decay, or the least wrinkle of old age, though, her too neer neighbour, the *Turk* had often set upon her skirts and fought to deflowre her, wherein he went so farr that he took from her *Venus*

*ioynture*, [I meane the Iland of Cyprus,] which she had long possessed, and was the sole Crown she ever wore. But if one in Story observes the cours of her actions, he shall find that she hath subsisted thus long as much by *Policy* as *Armes*, as much by reach of *Wit*, and *advantage of treaty*, as by open *strength*, it having beene her practise ever and anon to sow a piece of *Fox* tayle to the skinne of *S. Marks Lyon*.

Here one shall find the most zealous [and politicall] Patriots of any [place], yet some would maintaine (though I do not) that *the Venetians, are but indifferently wise single, though they be very Politique when they are together in the Senat.*

Having observed in the *Republique of Venice* what is most remarquable (and there are many things in that Government worth the carying away, specially the sight of *Nova Palma*, a Castle built after the newest rules of Fortification) he may visit the other ancient Townes of *Italy*, and so to *Naples*, where he may improve his knowledge in *Horsmanship*, and then repasse through other free States, whereof *Italy* is full: And truly a wonder it is to see how in so small an extent of ground, which take all dimensions together, is not so big as *England*, there should bee so many absolute and potent *Princes* by Sea and Land, which I beleeve is the cause of so many *Dialects* in the *Italian* tongue which are above ten in number: As hee traverseth the Countrey hee must note the trace, forme and site of any famous *Structure*, the Platforms of *Gardens*, *Aqueducts*, *Grots*, *Sculptures*, and such particularites belonging to *accommodation* or *beauty of dwelling*, but specially of *Castles*, and *Fortresses*, wherewith *Italy* abounds, the whole Countrey being frontier almost all over.

[In the perambulation of *Italy* young Travellers must be cautious, among diuers other to avoyd one kind of *Furbery* or cheat, whereunto many are subiect, which is, that in som great Townes, specially *Rome* and *Venice*, there are certain Brokers of manuscripts, who are no other then Mountibanks in that kind, that

use to insinuate themselves to the society of strangers, and bring them with a shew of reservedness such and such papers magnifying them for rare extraordinary peeces, and dangerous to bee divulg'd, whereas they prove oftentimes old flat things that either are printed already in *Te, oro politico*, *Boterus*, or *Bodin*; Or they are some absolet peeces reflecting happily upon the times of *Cosmo de Medici*, or touching the expulsion of the Jesuits out of the territories of *St. Marc*, or the creation of some Pope, and such like, which do nothing at all advantage one to be acquainted with the present face of things; In the Court of *Spain* there are likewise such Interlopers, and I have known divers Dutch Gentlemen grossly gul'd by this cheat, and some English bor'd also through the nose this way, by paying excessive prices for them.]

## SECTION. IX.

**A**ND with the *naturall* situation of Countreyes, a Traveller should observe also the *Political* position thereof, how some are seated like Mercury amongst the Planets, who for the most part is either in combustion or obscurity, being under brighter beames than his own; Such is *Savoy* and *Lorraine*, and other Princes of *Italy*, who are between more potent neighbours than themselves, and are like skreens tossed up and down and never at quiet: And they that are so situated may say, as the *Mouse* once answered the *Cat*, who asking how she did, made answer, *I should be far better, if you were further off.*

How the state of the *Popedome* running from the *Tirrhene* to the *Adriatique* Sea, is sited in *Italy*, as *France* is in *Europe*, in the midst, and so fittest to embroyle or preserve in peace, to disunite or conjoyne the forces of their neighbours, and so most proper to be *Umpires* of all quarrels.

How the Dominions of *Spaine* are like the Planets

*in the Heaven lying in vast uneven distances one from the other: But cleane contrary those of France, are so knit and clustered together, that they may be compared all to one fixed constellation.*

How *Germany* cut out into so many Principalities, into so many *Hanstatiqued* and *Imperiall* Townes, is like a great River sluiced into sundry Channels, which makes the maine streame farre the weaker. The like may be said of *Italy*.

How the *Signory* of *Venice* is the greatest rampart of *Christendome* against the *Turk* by *Sea*, and the hereditary territories of the house of *Austria*, by *Land*, which may be a good reason of State, why the *Colledge of Electors* hath continued the *Empire* in that *Line* these 200 yeares.

He must observe the quality of the power of Princes, how the *Cavalry* of *France*, the *Infantry* of *Spaine*, and the *English Ships*, leagued together, are fittest to conquer the *World*, to pull out the *Ottoman Tyrant* out of his *Seraglio*, from betweene the very armes of his fifteen hundred Concubines.

How the power of the *North-East* part of the *European* World is balanced between the *Dane*, the *Swede*, and the *Pole*, etc. And the rest between great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Spaine*; as for *Germany* and *Italy*, their power being divided 'twixt so many, they serve only to balance themselves, who if they had one absolute Monarch a piece, would prove terrible to all the rest.

*Spaine* in point of treasure hath the advantage of them all, She hath a *Veteran Army* always afoot; but She is thinne peopled, She hath many Colonies to supply, which lye squandered up and down in disadvantageous unfociable distances. Her people are disaffected by most nations, and incompatible with some; She wants bread, She hath bold accessible coasts, and Her *West Indy Fleet*, besides the length of the passage, and uncertainty of arrivall, is subject to casualties of *Sea*, and danger of interception by *Enemies*: And if *England* should breake out with Her in good earnest into acts of hostility, those

Islands, which the English have peopled, colonized, and fortified lately (being warned by Saint Christopher) in the carrere to Her mines, would be found to be no small disa[d]vantage to Her.

France swarmes with men, and now (more than ever) with Soldiers, She is a body well compacted (though often subject to Convulsions, and high fits of Feavers, the bloud gathering up by an unequall diffusion into the upper parts) and it is no small advantage to Her, that Her forme is circular, so that one part may quickly run, to succour the other: She abounds with Corne, and being the thorough fare of Christendome, She can never want money; She hath those three things which the Spaniard said would make Her eternall, viz. Rome, the Sea, and Counsell; for She hath the Pope for Her friend (having had his breeding in Her twenty yeares together). Shee hath Holland for Her Arsenall, and Richelieu for Counsell; who since he sate at the helme, hath succeeded in every attempt, with that monstrous cours of Felicity: They of the Religion, are now Town-lesse and Arme-lesse, and so are Her greatest Peeres most of them out of Office and Provinciaall command. So that if one would go to the intrinsique value of things, France will not want much in weight of the vast unweldy bulk, and disjointed body of the Spanish Monarchie.

Great Britaine being encircled by the Sea, and there being an easie going out for the Natives, and a dangerous landing for Strangers, and having so many invincible Castles in motion (I meane Her Ships) and abounding inwardly with all necessaries, and breeding such men, that I may well say, no King whatsoever hath more choyce of able bodies to make Soldiers of, [for the number,] having also most of Her trade intrinsique, with many other Infulary advantages, She need not feare any one Earthly power, if She bee true to Her selfe; yet would She be puzzled to cope with any of the other two single, unlesse it be upon the defensive part, but joyning with Holland She can give them both the Law at Sea, and leaguings with any of the other two, She is able to put the third shrewdly to it.

Now it cannot be denied, but that which giveth the



*greatest check to the Spanish Monarchy is France: And there is no lesse truth than caution in that saying, that the yeave of the Conquering of France, is the morning of the Conquest of England (and vice versa.) It hath not been then without good reason of State, that England since that monstrous height of power that Spaine is come to of late, hath endeavoured rather to strengthen France (to beare up against Her) than to enfeeble Her, having contributed both her power and purse to ransome one of her Kings, at that time when Spaine began to shoot out Her braunches so wide: Besides, during the last Ligue, which raged so long through all the bowels of France with that fury, when there was a designe to Cantonize the whole Kingdome: Queene Elizabeth though offered a part, would not accept of it, for feare of weakning the whole: Therefore this chaine of reciprocall conversation, linking them together so strongly; England may well be taken for a sure Confederate of France, while France containes Her selfe within her present bounds, but if Shee should reduce the Spaniard to that desperate passe in the Netherlands, as to make him throw the helve after the hatchet, and to relinquish those Provinces altogether, it would much alter the case: for nothing could make France more suspectfull to England than the addition of those Countreyes, for thereby they would come to be one continued piece, and so England her overthwart neighbour, should bee in a worse case than if the Spaniard had them entirely to himselfe. For it would cause Her to put Her selfe more strongly upon Her Guard, and so increase Her charge and care.*

*To conclude this point, there cannot be a surer maxime and fuller of precaution for the security of England, and Her Allies, and indeed for all other Princes of this part of the World, than Barnevelt gave of late yeares, a little before he came to the fatall block.*

*Decrescat Hispanus, ne crescat Francus.*

But I have been transported too farre by this tedious digression, which requires an ampler and more full Discours.

In fine, with these particulars, a *Traveller* should observe the likenesse and sympathy of distant Nations, as the *Spaniard* with the *Irish*, the *French* with the *Pole*, the *German* (specially *Holsteinmen*) with the *English*, and in *Italy* there have beene many besides my selfe, that have noted the countenance and condition of some people of *Italy*, specially those that inhabite *Lombardy*, to draw neere unto the ancient *Brittaines* of this *Island*, which argues, that the *Romanes*, who had their *Legions* here so many hundred yeares together, did much mingle and clope with them. Amongst other particulars, the old *Italian* tunes and rithmes both in concept and cadency, have much affinity with the *Welsh*, (and the genius of a people is much discovered by their profody) for example,

Vlisse ô lasso, ô dolce Amor' i' muoro, etc.

This agrees pat with the fancy of the *Welch Bards*, whose greatest acutenesse consists in *Agnominations* and in making one word to tread as it were upon the others heele, and push it forward in like letters, as in the precedent example, whereof many *Italian* Authors are full, appeareth.

## SECT. X.



HE must also observe the number of *Languages* and difference of *Dialects*, as neere as he can, in every Countrey as hee passeth along.

The *French* have *three dialects*, the *Wallon* (vulgarly called among themselves *Romand*), the *Provenfall*, (whereof the *Gascon* is a *subdialect*) and the speech of *Languedoc*: They of *Bearne* and *Navarre* speake a Language that hath affinity with the *Bascuence* or the *Cantabrian* tongue in *Biscaie*, and amongst the *Pyrenean* mountaines: The *Armorican* tongue, which they of low *Brittaine* speake (for there is your *Bas-Breton*, and the *Breton-Brittonant* or *Breton Gallois*, who speakes *French*) is a dialect of the old *Brittish* as

the word *Armorica* imports, which is a meere *Welsh* word, for if one observe the *Radicall* words in that Language they are the same that are now spoken in *Wales*, though they differ much in the composition of their sentences, as doth the *Cornish*: Now some of the approvedst *Antiquaries* positively hold the Originall Language of the *Celtæ*, the true ancient *Gaules*, to be *Welsh*: And amongst other Authors they produce no meaner than *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, to confirme this opinion: For *Cæsar* saith that the *Druides of Gaule understood the Brittish Druids*, who it seemes were of more account for their Philosophy, because as he saith, the *Gaules* came usually over to be taught by them, which must bee by conference, for there were few books then: Besides *Tacitus* in the life of *Julius Agricola* reporteth, that the Language of the *Brittaines* and the *Gaules* little differed, I restraints my selfe to the middle part of *France* called *Gallia Celtica*, for they of *Aquitaine* spake a language that corresponded with the old *Spanish*, they of *Burgundy* and *Champagny* with the *German*, and most part of *Provence* spake *Greek*, there having beene a famous Colony of *Grecians* planted in *Marseilles*: Other small differences there are up and down in other Provinces of *France*, as the low *Norman* useth to contract many words, as he will often say, *F'ay un pet à faire*, for *F'ay un petit affaire*, and the *Poitevin* will mince the word, and say, *ma Mese, mon pese*, for *ma Mere, mon Pere*; but these differences are not considerable.

The *Spanish* or *Castilian* tongue, which is usually called *Romance*, and of late years *Lengua Christiana*, (but it is called so only amongst themselves) for a *Spaniard* will commonly aske a stranger whether hee can speake *Christian*, that is, *Castilian*? The *Spanish* (I say) hath but one considerable dialect, which is the *Portugues*, which [this] the *Fewes* of *Europe* speake more than any other language, and [because] they hold that the *Messias* shall come out that Tribe, that [which] speake the *Portingal* language; other small differences

there are in the pronunciation of the *gutturall* letters in the *Castillian*, but they are of small moment. They of the Kingdome of *Valencia* and *Catalunia* (*Goth-land*) speake rather a language mixed of *French*, and *Italian*: In the Mountaines of *Granada* (the *Alpuxarras*) they speake *Morisco*, that last part of *Spaine* that was inhabited by the *Moores*, who had possessed it above 700 yeares.

But the most ancient speech of *Spaine* seemes to have beene the *Bascuence* or the *Cantabrian* tongue spoken in *Guipuscoa*, the *Asturias* and in some places amongst the *Pyrenes*; but principally in the Province of *Biscaye*, which was never conquered by *Roman*, *Cartaginian*, *Goth*, *Vandall* or *Moore*, which Nations overrunne all the rest of *Spaine*, (though some more, some lesse) therefore whensoever the King of *Spaine* commeth to any of the territories of *Biscaye*, hee must pull off his shooes upon the frontiers, when he treads the first step, being as it were *Virgin holy ground*. And as it is probable that the *Bascuence* is the primitive language of *Spaine*, so doubtlesse the people of that Countrey are a reinnant of the very *Aborigenes*, of her first Inhabitants. For it is an infallible Rule, that if you desire to find out (the *Indigenæ*) the ancientest people or language of a Countrey, you must go amongst the Mountaines and places of fastnesse, as the *Epirotiques* in *Greece*, the *Heylanders* in *Scotland*, the *Brittaines* in *Wales*, with whom (I meane the last) the *Biscayner* doth much fymbolize in many things, as in the position and quality of ground, in his candor and humanity towards Strangers more than any other people of *Spaine*, [together with] his cryed up Antiquity; for the *Spaniards* confesse the ancientest race of Gentry to have been preserved there: So that a *Biscayner* is capable to be a *Cavalier* of any of the *three habits* without any scrutiny to be made by the *Office*, whether he be, *limpio de la sangre de los Moros*, that is, *cleare of the bloud of the Moores* or no, 'tis enough that he be a *Montanero*, that he be borne amongst the Mountaines of *Biscaye*. And many may be the reasons why Hilly people keep

their standings so well, for being inured to labour, and subject to the inclemency of the Heavens, distemperatures of Ayre, to short Commons, and other incommodities, they prove the hardier and abler men, and happily with the *elevation* of the ground their spirits are *heightned*, and so prove more couragious and forward to repel an invading enemy.

Adde hereunto, that the craggineffe and steepineffe of places up and down is a great advantage to the dwellers, and makes them inaccessible, for they serve as *Fortresses erected by Nature her selfe, to protect them from all incursions*: as *Cæsar* complains of some places in *Scythia*, that *Difficilius erat hostem invenire, quam vincere*.

And now for further prooffe that the *Cantabrian* language is the ancientest of *Spaine*, I thinke it will not be much from the purpose, if I insert here a strange discovery that was made not much above *halfe a hundred yeares ago*, about the very midle of *Spaine*, of the *Pattuecos*, a people that were never knowne upon the face of the Earth before, though *Spaine* hath been a renown'd famous Countrey visited and known by many warlik Nations: They were discovered by the flight of a Faulcon, for the *Duke of Alva* hauking on a time neere certaine hils, not farre from *Salamanca*, one of his Hauks which he much valued, flew over those Mountaines, and his men not being able to find her at first, they were sent back by the Duke after her; these Faulknors clammering up and down, from hill to hill and luring all along, they lighted at last upon a large pleasant Valley, where they spied a company of naked Savage people, locked in between an *assembly* of huge crags and hils indented and hemmed in (as it were) one in another: As simple and Savage they were, as the rudest people of any of the two *Indies*, *wherof some thought a man on horseback to be one creature with the horse*: These Savages gazing awhile upon them, flew away at last into their caves, for they were *Troglodites*, and had no dwelling but in the hollowes of the rocks:

The Faulconers observing well the track of the passage, returned the next day, and told the Duke, that in lieu of a hauke, they had found out a New World, a New People never knowne on the continent of *Spaine*, since *Tubal Cain* came first thither: A while after, the *Duke of Alva* went himfelfe with a Company of Muscateers, and Conquered them, for they had no offensive weapon but slings; they were *Pythagoreans*, and did eat nothing that had life in it, but excellent fruits, rootes and springs there were amongst them; they worshipped the Sun, and new Moone, their language was not intelligible by any, yet many of their simple words were pure *Basfience*, and their *gutturall* pronounciation the very same, and a *gutturall pronounciation is an infallible badge of an ancient language*; And so they were reduced to Christianity, but are to this day discernable from other *Spaniards* by their more tawny complexions, which proceeds from the reverberation of the Sun-beams glancing upon those stony inountaines wherewith they are encircled, and on some sides trebly fenced, which beames reflects upon them with a greater strength and so tannes them.

But I did not think to have staid so long in *Spain* now, nor indeed the last time I was there, but he that hath to deale with that Nation, must have good store of *Phlegme* and patience, and both for his stay, and successe of businesse, may often reckon without his host [upon the businesse went about, and for any one to prescribe a precise time to conclude any businesse there, is to reckon without ones host].

## SECTION. XI.



As these varieties of *Dialects* in *France* and *Spaine*, are farre lesse in number to those of *Italy*; Nor do I beleeve were there ever so many amongst the *Greeks*, though their Countrey was indented and cut out into so many *Ilands*, which as they differed in position of

place, to there was some reason they should differ something in propriety of Speech: There is in *Italy* the *Toscan*, the *Roman*, the *Venetian*, the *Neapolitan*, the *Calabrese*, the *Genovese*, the *Luquesse*, the *Milanese*, the *Parmasan*, the *Piemontese*, and others in and about *Abouzzo*, and the *Apennine hills*; and all these have severall Dialects and Idioms of Speech, and the reason I conceive to be, is the multiplicity of Governments, there being in *Italy*, one Kingdome, three Republicques, and five or six absolute Principalities, besides the *Pope-dome*, and their *Lawes*, [the *Lawes* of all these] being different, their *Language* also groweth to be so but the prime *Italian* dialect, take *Accent* and *Elegance* together, is *Lingua Toscana in boca Romana*. *The Toscan tongue in a Roman mouth*.

There is also a *Mongrell Dialect* composed of *Italian* and *French*, and some *Spanish* words are also in it, which they call *Franco*, that is used in many of the *Islands* of the *Ægean Sea*, and reacheth as farre as *Constantinople*, and *Natolie*, and some places in *Afrique*, and it is the ordinary speech of Commerce 'twixt *Christians*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, and *Greeks* in the *Levant*.

Now for the Originall Language in *Italy*, as the *Mesapian* and *Hetruscan tongue*, there is not a syllable left any where, nor do I know any Countrey where the old *primitive Languages*, are so utterly and totally extinguished without the least trace left behind, as in *Italy*.

Touching the *Latine Tongue*, which is one of the ancientest Languages of *Italy*, but not so ancient as those I spake of before, the received opinion is, that the inundation of the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Longbards*, were her first Corrupters but it is not so, as the Learned *Bembo*, and our no lesse Learned *Brerewood* are of opinion; for as the *Latine Tongue* grew to perfection by certaine degrees, and in *Cæsar* and *Cicero's* times (whereof the one for *purity*, the other for *copiousnesse*, were the best that ever writ) she came to the highest flourish together with the *Empire*, so had shee insensible degrees of corruption amongst the vulgar, and intrin-

sique changes in her selfe before any forrain cause concurred ; for the *Salian Verses*, towards the end of the *Republique*, were scarce intelligible, no more were the capitulations of Peace 'twixt *Rome and Carthage* in *Polybius* his time : And every one knowes what kind of *Latine* stands upon record on the *Columna Rostrata* in the *Capitoll*, in memory of the famous Navall victory of *Duillius* the Confull, which happened but 150 yeares before *Cicero*. As also what *Latine* had the vogue in *Plautus* his time : And here it will not be much out of the byas, to insert (in this *Ogdoastique*) a few verses of the *Latine* which was spoken in that age, which were given me by a worthy polite *Gentleman*,

*Sic est, nam nenum laciens uls manaca, præes est  
 Andreas ; Ipsus Hortitor ergo cluo  
 Dividiã estricem ut genii averruncet, et ultra  
 Calpar, si pote, Luræ insipet omnimodis,  
 Calpar, quod Nymphis nenum ebrium, at Argeliorum  
 Zitho, quod nostra hæc vincia dapsiliter  
 Degulet, ha frux obgræcari (haut numina posce it)  
 Prodinit, toppe morta modo orta necat.*

So that as before, so after *Cicero's* time, the *Latine Tongue* wrought certaine changes in her selfe, before any mixture with Strangers, or the intervention of any forraine cause : For as Kingdomes and States with all other *Sublunary things* are subject to a tosing and tumbling, to periods and changes, as also all *Naturall bodies* corrupt inwardly and insensibly of themselves, so *Languages* are not exempt from this Fate, from those accidents, and revolutions that attend Time : For *Horace* complained in his dayes, that words changed as coynes did : Yet besides this home bredd change, it cannot be denyed but the *Latine Tongue*, had some forraine extrinsique cause to degenerate so farre into *Italian*, as the admission of such multiplicities of Strangers to be *Roman Citizens*, with the great number of slaves that were brought into the *City* ; Adde herunto at last those swarms of barbarous Nations, which in lesse than one hundred yeares thrice over-ran *Italy*, and tooke such footing in her :



And as in *Italy*, so likewise in *Spain* and *France*, they corrupted the *Latine tongue*, though I beleieve she never tooke any perfect impressiō amongst the vulgar in those Countreyes, albeit the *Romanes* laboured to plant her there, making it their practise (though not at first : for we reade of some *People* that petitioned unto them, that they might bee permitted to use the *Latine tongue*) with the *Law* to bring in their *Language* as a marke of Conquest.

But one may justly aske why the *Latine tongue* could receive no growth at all amongst the *Brittaines*, who were so many hundred years under the *Roman* government, and some of the *Emperours* living and dying amongst them? To this it may bee answered, that in *Brittaine* wee reade of no more than *four* colonies that ever were planted; but in *Spain* there were 29, and in *France* 26. But as I cannot cease to wonder that the *Romans* notwithstanding those Colonies and Legions that had so long cohabitation, and coalition with them, could take no impressiō at all upon the *Brittaines* in so long a tract of time in point of Speech, (notwithstanding that in some *other things* there be some resemblances observed 'twixt the people, as I said before) I wonder as much how such a multitude of *Greeke* words could creep into the *Welsh* language, some whereof for example sake, I have couched in this *Distique*.

Α'λς ὕδωρ, γένεσις, πῦρ, κοιλία γραῖα διδάσκω,  
 Δαῖρα, μελί, κλύω, ἡλιος, αἶσα, μέθυ. &c.

Which words *Englished* are, *Salt, water, birth, fire, the belly, an old woman, to teach, the earth, hony, to heare, the Sun, destiny, drunkard.*

Besides divers others, which are both *Greeke* and *Welsh*, both in pronounciation and sence.

Now for the *Greek tongue*, there is no question, but it was of larger extent than ever the *Roman* was, for these three respects, for the mighty *commerce* that Nation did exercise, for their humour in planting of *Colonies*, for

their *Learning and Philosophy*, for *Greek* is the *scientificst tongue* that ever was, in all which they went beyond the *Romanes*: And it is not long ago since in some places of *Italy* her selfe, as *Calabria* and *Apulia*, the *Liturgy* was in the *Greek tongue*. Nor is some vulgar *Greek* so farre adulterated, and eloignated from the true *Greek*, as *Italian* is from the *Latin*, for there is yet in some places of the *Morea* true *Greek* spoken vulgarly (you cannot say so of the *Latin* any where) only they confound these three letters, η, ι, υ, (*Eta, Iota, Upsilon*) and these two diphthongs ει and οι, all which they pronounce as *Ioata*. As for πίνω σοι κύριε, they pronounce πίνω σι κίριε for μήνιν ἀειδε θεά, they say μίνιν αιδε θεά. There is also true *Greek* spoken in some parts of the lesser *Asia*, where there is no place upon the surface of the earth, for the proportion, where so many differing Languages are spoken, yet most of them are but *Dialects* and *subdialects*; so that of those two and twenty tongues, which *Mithridates* is recorded to have vnderstood, above two parts of three, I beleeeve, were but *dialects*.

I dare go no further *Eastward*, for it is beyond the bounds of so small a Volume as this, to speak of the *Levantine tongues*, that go from the *Liver to the Heart*, from the *Right hand to the Left*, as the most *Spacious Arabique*, which is spoken (or learnt) throughout al[l] the vast dominions of the *Mahumetan Empire*, and is the most *fixed* language now upon Earth, it being death to alter it, or *Translate the Alcoran* into any other language, to adde the least title to the first text, or comment upon it; a rare policy to *prevent schismes*, and *restraine the extravagant*, and *various restlesse fancies of humane braine*.

This page is also too narrow to comprehend any thing of the most large *Slavonique tongue*, which above other Languages hath this prerogative to have *two Characters*, one resembling the *Latine*, the other the *Greek*, and in many places the *Liturgy* is in both, one for *Sundayes and Holy-dayes*, the other for *working*

dayes. There are above forty severall Nations, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, which have the *Slavonick* for their vulgar speech, it reacheth from *Mosco*, the Court of the great *Knez*, to the *Turks Seraglio* in *Constantinople*, and so over the *Propontey* to divers places in *Asia*, it being the common language of the *Fanizaries*.

## SECT. XII.



He *German* or *Teutonique* tongue also is of mighty extent, for not only the large Continent of *Germany* high and low, but the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmarque*, *Swethland*, *Norway*, *Island*, and some parts of *Hungary* and *Poland* speake it vulgarly. And questionlesse the *German* is one of the first mother tongues of *Europe*, whereof *Scaliger* would have but eleven, though there be foure or five more, but I find that they who are cryed up for great Clearks may erre, as he did in this, as also when hee made *Presler Fohn* an *African* and placed him in *Ethiopia*, in the *Habafsins* Countrey, whereas it is certaine that he was an *Asian*, and King of *Tenduc* in *Tartary* above two thousand miles distant, besides he was a *Nestorian* by his religion, and it is well known the *Habafsines* are *Jacobites* and *Christians* from the girdle upward, and *Jews* downward, admitting both of *Baptism* and *Circumcision*.

And so ancient is the *German* tongue, that *Goropius Becanus* flattered himselfe with a fancy, that it was the language which was spoken in *Paradise*, which *Ortelius* also shewed a desire to beleeve; they grounded this conceipt upon these words, *Adam*, *Eve*, *Abel*, *Seth*, etc. which they would stretch to bee *German* words; also that their language came first from *Asia*, because *Godt*, *Fader*, *Moder*, *Broder*, *Star*, are found to signifie the same things both in the *German*, and *Persian* tongue.

There is no language so full of *Monosyllables* and knotted so with *Consonants* as the *German*, howsoever she is a full mouthd masculine speech: the speeches of

the *Kingdoms* before mentioned, are but *Dialects* derived from her; And the *English* is but a *Sub-dialect* or *branch of the Saxon Dialect*, which hath no other name in *Welsh* and *Irish* to this day; for take an *Englishman Capa pea*, from head to foot, every member hee hath is *Dutch*.

Yet since the *last Conquest* much *French* hath got in, and greatly embellished and smoothed the *English*, so that there is very much affinity between them, as for Example,

*La Fortune me tourmente,  
La Vertu mecontente.*

Or,

*Mon desir est infiny,  
D'entrer en Paradis.*

Which sayings are both *French* and *English*.

Of late yeares the *English tongue* hath much enriched her selfe, by borrowing of some choyce, well founding and significant words from other Languages also; so that she may be compared to a *Poesie made up of many fragrant choyce Flowers*: And truly, without interest and passion, let it be spoken, there is in *English* as *true straines of Eloquence*, as *strong and sinewy Expressions*, as *elaborate and solid pieces of Fancy*, as *far fetched reaches of Invention*, and as *full of salt*, [there are] *Metaphor's as faithfully pursued*; *Similies as aptly applyed*, and as *well cloathed and girded about*; as in any Language whatsoever, both in *Poesie and Prose*; It must be granted that some other Languages, for their soft and smooth melting fluency, as having no abruptnesse of *Consonants*, have some advantage of the *English*; yet many of their fancies, which amongst themselves they hold to be *strong lines and quintessential stufte*, being turned to another tongue become flat, and prove oftentimes but meere gingles, but what is witty in *English*, is so, with advantage, in any Language else, unlesse the conceipt be *topically*, or *personally*, and *peculiar* only to this *Island*.

But whither have I been thus transported? The Copiousnesse and pleasure of the Argument hath carried

mee a little further than I made account, for to bee a πολύγλωσσις to have the knowledge, specially the *practical* knowledge (for the *Theory* is not nere so grateful nor useful) of many languages is one of the richest and pleasingst kind of *Notions* that is; And we find upon the best record, that the first blessing which fell down from Heaven upon those holy *Heralds* of Christianity, the *Apostles*, was the knowledge of many tongues, inspired into them immediatly by God Almighty himselfe.

For what is *Imagination*, *Invention* and *Sense*, without the faculty of *Speech* without expression? *Speech* is the instrument by which a *Foole* is distinguished from a *Philosopher*: *Speech* is the *Index*, the *Interpreter*, the *Ambassador* of the mind, and the *Tongue* the *Vehiculum*, the *Chariot*, which conveyeth and carrieth the notions of the *Mind* to *Reasons* Palace, and [so to] the impregnable *Tower* of *Truth*: And although there be but one way thither, yet there be many sorts of *Chariots*, some more sumptuous and better harnessed than others; for amongst tongues there be some farre more rich, more copious, and of stronger expressions than others: And amongst *Tongues* there is also a kind of good fellowship, for they sometimes supply one anothers wants, and mutually borrow and lend.

## SECT. XIII.

**B**Vt whether have I wandred? I had almost forgot where I left my *Traveller*, but now I remember wel it was in *Italy*. And having surveyed *Italy*, that minion of *Nature*, he may crosse the *Alpes*, and see some of the *Cantons*, those rugged *Republiques*, and [with their] *Regiments*, and then passe through many of the Stately proud *Cities* of *Germany*, till hee comes to *Bruxels*, and there he shall behold the face of a constant *Military* Court, and *Provinciall* Government, with a miscellany all *Nations*, and if there be any *Leagers* a foot, or *Ar* in motion, it should bee time well spent to see th

For the *Netherlands* have been for many yeares, as one may fay, the very *Cockpit of Christendome*, the *Schoole of Armes*, and *Rendezvous of all adventurous Spirits, and Cadets*, which makes most Nations of *Europe* beholden to them for Soldiers. Therefore the History of the *Belgique* wars are very worth the reading, for I know none fuller of *stratagemes*, of *reaches of Pollicy*, of *variety of successes* in so short a time: nor in which more *Princes* have been engaged (though some more, some lesse) for *reasons of state*, nor a warre which hath produced such deplorable effects *directly* or *collaterally*, all *Christendome* over, both by *Sea* and *Land*.

*Fean Petit* in *French* is an approved Author, *Guicciardin*, *Don Carles Coloma* in *Spanish*, and *Sir Roger Williams* in *English*, with others, there you shall reade of one *Towne* taken by a *Boat of Turfs*, and reprized many yeares after by a *Boat of Fagots*, another taken by the *flight of a Hawk*, another by a *load of Hey*, another by a *Cart full of Apples*, and many by *disguises*, either of *Boores*, *Fryers*, or *Marchands*.

Having spent some small time in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, he may by safe conduct, as is usuall, passe to *Holland*, where he shall find a People planted as it were under the *Sea*, out of whose jawes they force an habitation, with infinite expence and toyle, checking the impetuous cours of the angry *Ocean*, and shewing the World *how far Industry and Art, can curbe and controule Nature*: And very expedient it is, hee should take an exact Survey of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, because they are accounted the *surest Confederates of England*, and her *fastest Friends*, for interest of *Religion*, for community of *danger*, and consequently of reciprocal *preservation*.

And it will be a wonderfull thing to see what a mighty subsistence of wealth and a huge *Navigable bower* that *State* is come too, by a rare unparalleld industry: For I dare avouch that the *Roman Commonwealth*, (though she had her head as well knit in her infancy as any that ever was) did not come neere her,

in so short a progresse of time, to such a growth of strength.

But it seemes all things conspired to raise *Holland* to this passe: First, the *humour of the people*, being patient and industrious, and of a genius more inclinable to a *Democraticall* Government than to a *Monarchy*: Adde hereunto the *quality of the Countrey*, being every where half cut, and as it were inlayed with water, and thereby much fortified, and made in many places inaccessible; so that, if need were, *Holland* could turne her selfe into a huge pond when she list.

Hereunto concurred a further advantage of situation, having behind her the *Baltique* Sea, which affords her all kind of Materials for shipping, and for all kind of Nutriment and Military forces *England* and *France*, both swarming with superfluous people, suspectfull of the *Spanish* greatnesse, and so not unwilling to contribute auxiliary strength for mutuall security and conservation.

*Navigation* and *Mercantile Negotiation*, are the two *Poles* whereon that *State* doth move, and to both these, it seemes, *Nature* her selfe hath expressly designed both Countrey and People; *Them* by an extraordinary kind of *Propensity*, the Countrey by apt *position*, for having no *Land* to manure [it], they plow the very bowels of the *Deep*, the *wrinkled fore-head of Neptune* being the *furrowes* that yealds them encrease.

Moreover, there being many great *Rivers* that slice and cut the Countrey up and down to disgorge themselves into the *Ocean*, those *Rivers* may be said to pay *them* tribute, as well as to the Sea, which *Rivers* branching themselves into large and bearing streames, do so fitly serve one another, and all the whole, that it may bee said, *Nature* in the frame of humane bodies, did not discover more *Art*, in distributing the veines and arteries, for the easy conveyance of the masse of bloud into each part, as she hath shewed here in dispersing those waters so orderly for trafique.

These *Rivers* bring her what the large continent of

*Germany*, and other Easterne Countreys affoord, and the lying between them and the Sea, furnisheth them with all far fetched *Indian, African, and Spanish* commodities.

Here you shall see the most industrious people upon earth, making a *rare vertue of necessity*, for the *same thing which makes a Parrot speake, makes them to labour*. For having nothing of their own, yet they abound with all things, and may be said, *to live by the idleness of some of their neighbours*, I am loth to name here *who* they are.

Here you shall find a people grow *Rich* also by that which useth to *impoverish* others, even by *Warre*, for *prizes and booties abroad, go to make a good part of their wealth*.

Yet in conversation they are but heavy, of a homely outside, and slow in action, which *slownesse* carrieth with it a notable *perseverance*, and this may be imputed to the quality of that *mould of earth*, whereon they dwell, which may be said to be *a kind of standing poole of Ayre*: And which is known to have a such a force of assimilation, that when people of a more vivacious temper, come to mingle with them, at the second generation, they seeme to participate of the foyle and Ayre, and degenerate into meere *Hollanders*; the like is found dayly in Horses and Dogs, and all other animals.

*Occulta est Batavæ quædam vis insita terræ.*

One remarkable piece of Policy I forgot, that hee should observe in the United *Provinces*; *viz.* Why in so small an extent of ground they have so many rich, welbuilt and populous Townes amongst them; one of the principall reasons is, because they appropriate some staple materiall commoditie to every one of the great Townes, as *Amsterdam* hath the trade of the *East and West Indies*, *Roterdam* the *English Cloth*, *Dort* the *Rhenish Wines*, *Middelborough* the *French Wines*, *Treves* the *Scots trade*, the *Hage* the *residence of the Prince and the States*, *Haerlam* subsist [*s*] by *knitting and dying*, and so forth; which is a very laudable course, not to suffer one place to swallow the wealth and traffique of



the whole, like the spleene in the naturall body, whose swelling makes all the rest of the members languish.

SECT. XIV.



Having thus passed the diameter of *France*, run over *Spaine*, crossed the Mediterranean to *Italy*, and observed the multiplicity of Governments therein; having thus climbed the *Alpes*, and traversed the best part of *Germany*, having also taken the length of the *Belgique Lion*, (of all which *France* for a Kingdome, *Venice* for a Republique, *Millan* for a Ducky, *Flanders* for a County beare the bell) having I say, *Travelled* through all these places, all which may bee done completely in *three yeares and foure months*, which four *Months* I allow for itinerary removals and journeys, and the *Yeares* for residence in places; it will be high time now to hoysse sayle, and steere homwards, where being returned, hee must abhorre all affectations, all forced postures and complements: For *Forraine Travell* oftentimes makes many to wander from themselves, as well as from their Countrey, and to come back mere *Mimiques*, and so in going farre, to fare worse, and bring back lesse wit, than they carieth forth, they go out *Figures* (according to the *Italian* Proverb) and returne *Cyphers*, they retaine the *Vice* of a Countrey, and will discours learnedly thereon, but passe by, and forget the good, their *Memories* being herein like haire seeves, that keep up the branne, and let go the fine flowre: They strive to degenerate as much as they can from *Englishmen*, and all their talke is still *Forraine*, or at least, will bring it to be so, though it be by head and shoulders, *magnifying* other Nations, and *derogating* from their own: Nor can one hardly exchange three words with them, at an Ordinary (or else-where) but presently they are th'other side of the Sea, commending either the *Wines* of *France*, the *fruits* of *Italy*, or the *Oyle* and *Sallets* of *Spaine*.

Some also there are who by their *Countenance* more than by their *Cariage*, by their *Diseases*, more than by their *Discourses*, discover themselves to have been *Abroad* under hot *Climats*.

Others have a custome to bee always relating strange *things* and *wonders*, (of the humor of Sir *Fohn Mandevile*) and they usually present them to the Hearers, through *multiplying glaffes*, and thereby cause the thing to appeare far greater than it is in it self, they make *Mountaines of Mole-hils*, like *Charenton-Bridge-Eccho*, which doubles the found nine times. Such a *Traveller* was he, that reported the *Indian Fly*, to be as big as a *Fox*; *China birds*, to be as big as some *Horses*, and their *Mice* to be as big as *Monkeys*; but they have the wit to fetch this far enough off, because the Hearer may rather *believe it*, than make a voyage so far to *disprove it*.

Every one knowes the *Tale* of him, who reported hee had seen a *Cabbage* under whose leafes a *Regiment* of *Souldiers* were sheltred from a shower of raine: Another who was no *Traveller* (yet the wiser man) said, hee had passed by a place where there were 400 *brasters* making of a *Cauldron*, 200 within, and 200 without, beating the nayles in; the *Traveller* asking for what use that huge *Cauldron* was? he told him, *Sir it was to boyle your Cabbage*.

Such another was the *Spanish Traveller*, who was so habituated to *hyperbolize*, and relate wonders, that he became ridiculous in al[1] companies, so that he was forced at last to give order to his man, when he fell into any *excesse this way*, and report any thing improbable, he should pul him by the sleeve: The *Master* falling into his wonted *hyperboles*, spoke of a *Church in China*, that was ten thousand yards long; his man standing behind and pulling him by the sleeve, made him stop suddenly: the company asking, I pray *Sir*, how broad might that *Church* be? he replied, *but a yard broad*, and you may thanke my man for pulling  
<sup>tu</sup> by the sleeve, else I had made it *fouresquare* for you.

Others have another kind of *hyperbolizing* vaine, as they will say, *there's not a woman in Italy, but weares an Iron girdle next her skin in the absence of her husband, that for a pistoll one may be master of any mans life there; That there is not a Gentleman in France but hath his box of playsters about him; That in Germany every one hath a rouse in his pate, once a day; That there are [a] few Dons in Spaine that eat flesh once a week, or that hath not a Mistresse besides his wife; That Paris hath more Courtizans than London honest Women (which may admit a double sence;)* *That Seville is like a cheffebord table, having as many Moriscos as Spaniards; That Venice hath more Maquerelles, than Marchands; Portugall more Jews than Christians:* whereas it is farre otherwise, *for the Devill is not so black as he is painted,* no more are these Noble Nations and Townes as they are tainted: Therefore one should

*Parcere paucorum diffundere crimen in omnes.*

And it is a generous kind of civility to report alwayes the best.

Furthermore, there is amongst many others (which were too long to recite here) an odde kind of *Anglicisme*, wherein some do frequently expresse themselves, as to say *Your Boores of Holland, Sir; Your Iesuites of Spaine, Sir; Your Courtifans of Venice, Sir:* whereunto one answered (not impertinently) *My Courtifans Sir? Pox on them all for me, they are none of my Courtifans.*

Lastly, some kind of *Travellers* there are, whom their *gate and strouting, their bending in the hammes, and shoulders, and looking upon their legs, with frisking and singing* do speake them *Travellers.*

Others by a phantastique kind of *ribanding* themselves, by their modes of *habit, and cloathing* (and touching *variety of cloathing*, there be certaine odde ill-favoured old *Prophecies* of this *Island*, which were improper to recite here) do make themselves knowne to have breathed *forraine ayre*, like *Sir Thomas Moore's Traveller*, whom I will bring here upon the stage.

*Amicus et Sodalis est Lalus mihi,  
 Britanniaque natus, altusque Insulâ :  
 At cùm Brittanos Galliæ cultoribus  
 Oceanus ingens, lingua, mores dirimant,  
 Spernit tamen Lalus Britannica omnia ;  
 Miratur expetitque cuncta Gallica  
 Togâ superbit ambulans in Gallica,  
 Amatque multùm Gallicas lacernulas,  
 Zonâ, locello, atque ense gaudet Gallico,  
 Et calceis et subligare Gallico,  
 Totoque denique apparatu Gallico,  
 Nam et unum habet Ministrum, eumque Gallicum,  
 Sed quem, licet velit, nec ipsa Gallia,  
 Tractare quiret plus (opinor) Gallicè,  
 Stipendii nihil dat, atque id Gallicè,  
 Vestitque tritis pannulis, et Gallicè hoc,  
 Alit cibo parvo et malo, idque Gallicè,  
 Labore multo exercet, atque hoc Gallicè,  
 Pugnisque crebrò pulsat, idque Gallicè,  
 In cætu, in via, et in foro, et frequentiâ  
 Rixatur objurgatque semper Gallicè.  
 Quid? Gallicè illud? imò semi-Gallicè,  
 Sermonem enim, ni fallor, ille Gallicum,  
 Tam callet omnem, quàm Latinum Pfittacus.  
 Crescit tamen ; sibi que nimirum placet,  
 Verbis tribus si quid loquatur Gallicis,  
 Aut Gallicis si quid nequit vocabulis,  
 Conatur id verbis, licèt non Gallicis,  
 Sono saltem personare Gallico,  
 Palato hiante, acutulo quodam tono,  
 Et fœminæ instar garrientis molliter,  
 Sed ore pleno, tanquam id impleant fabæ,  
 Balbutiens videlicet suaviter,  
 Pressis quibusdam literis, Galli quibus  
 Ineptientes abstinent, nihil secus  
 Quam vulpe gallus, rupibusque Navita ;  
 Sic ergo linguam ille et Latinam Gallicè,  
 Et Gallicè linguam sonat Britannicam,  
 Et Gallicè linguam refert Hispanicam,*

*Et Gallicè linguam refert Lombardicam,  
Et Gallicè linguam refert Germanicam,  
Et Gallicè omnem præter unam Gallicam,  
Nam Gallicam folùm fonat Britannicè :*

*At quisquis Infulâ fatus Britannica  
Sic patriam inſolens faſtidict ſuam,  
Ut more ſimicæ laboreſ fingere,  
Et æmulari Gallicas ineptias,  
Ex amne Gallo ego hunc opinor ebrium.  
Ergo ut ex Britanno Gallus eſſe nititur,  
Sic Dii jubete, fiat fiat ex Gallo capus.*

SEC. XV.



Ut ſuch *Travellers* as theſe may bee termed *Land-lopers*, as the *Dutchman* ſaith, rather than *Travellers* ; Such may be ſaid to go out upon ſuch an [the like] Arrand, as wee reade *Saules-ſon* went once out upon [to ſeek his Father's aſſes] ; or like the *Prodigall ſon*, to feed upon the *huſkes* of ſtrange Countreys ; or as we reade, *Æſope* travelled to *Iſtria*, thence to *Africk*, and fundry other Regions, only to find out the beſt *Crabs* ; or like him who came from the furtheſt parts of *Hungary* to *England* [from the furtheſt parts of Hungary], to eat *Oyſters* : Theſe *Travellers* in lieu of the *Ore of Ophir* wherewith they ſhould come home richly freighted, may be ſaid to make their returne in *Apes* and *Owles*, in a cargazon of *Complements* and *Cringes*, or ſome huge monſtrous *Periwigs*, which is the *Golden Fleece* they bring over with them.

Such, I ſay, are a ſhame to their Countrey abroad, and their kined at home, and to their parents, *Benonies*, the *ſons of ſorrow* : and as *Fonas* in the *Whales* belly, travelled much, but ſaw little, why, becauſe hee was ſhut up in the body of that great (aquatique) beaſt, ſo theſe may be ſaid to have been carried up and downe through many Countreys, and after a long *pererration* to and fro, to returne as wiſe as they went, becauſe their ſoules were ſo ill lodged, and ſhut up in

fuch stupid bodies : No, an ingenious and discerning *Traveller* will difdaine this, and strive to diftinguifh 'twixt good and evil, 'twixt that which is gracefull, and what's phantaftique, 'twixt what is to be followed, and what's to be fhunned, and bring home the beft : Hee will strive to be rather *Subftance without fhew, than fhew without fubftance* : From the *Italian* he will borrow his *refervedneffe*, not his *jealoufie* and *humor of revenge* ; From the *French* his *Horfemanship* and gallantneffe that way, with his *Confidence*, and nothing elfe : From the *Spaniard* his *Sobriety*, not his *luft* : From the *German* (cleane contrary) his *Continency*, not his *Exceffe*, the other way : From the *Netherland* his *Industry*, and that's all : His heart muft ftill remaine *Englifh*, though I allow him fome choyce and change of *Habit*,

*Cælum, non animum mutet—*

And as the commendableft quality of *Oyle* is to fmell of nothing, yet it giveth an excellent relifh to many forts of *meats* : So he is the difcreeteft *Traveller*, who *Savoureth* of no affectation, or strangeneffe, of no exotique *modes* at all, after his returne, either in his *Cariage* or *Discours*, unleffe the fubject require it, and the occafion and Company aptly ferve for him, to difcover himfelfe, and then an application of his Knowledge abroad, will excellently feafon his matter and ferve as golden *difhes* to ferve it in.

If any *Forrainer* be to be imitated in his manner of *Discours* and *Comportement*, it is the *Italian*, who may be faid to be a *medium* 'twixt the *Gravity* of the *Spaniard*, the *Heavineffe* of the *Dutch*, and *Levity* of our next Neighbours, for he feemes to allay the one, and quicken the other two ; to ferve as a *buoy* to the one, and a *ballaft* to th'other.

*France* ufeth to work one good effect upon the *Englifh*, ſhe ufeth to take away the mothers milk (as they fay,) that blufh and bashfull tincture, which ufeth to rife up in the face upon fudden falutes, and enterchange of Complement, and to enharden one with confidence ; For the Gentry of *France* have a kind of

loofe becomming boldnes, and forward vivacity in their cariage, whereby [as] they feeme to draw respect from their *Superiours* and *Equals*, and [so they] make their *Inferiours* [and all kind of mechaniques to] keepe a fitting distance.

In *Italy* amongst other morall cautions, one may learne *not to be over prodigall of speech* when there is no need, for with a *nod*, with a *shake of the head*, and *shrug of the shoulder*, they will answer to many questions.

One shall learne besides there not to *interrupt* one in the relation of his tale, or to *feed* it with odde *interlocutions*: One shall learne also not to *laugh at his own jest*, as too many use to do, *like a Hen, which cannot lay an egge but she must cackle*.

Moreover, one shall learne *not to ride so furiously* as they do ordinarily in *England*, when there is no necessity at all for it [required]; for the *Italians* have a Proverb, that *a galloping horse is an open sepulcher*. And the *English* generally are observed by all other Nations, to ride commonly with that speed, as if they rid for a Midwife, or a Physitian, or to get a pardon to save one's life as he goeth to execution, when there is no such thing, or any other occasion at all, which makes them call *England*, the *Hell of Horses* [not without cause].

In these hot Countreyes also, one shall learne to give over the habit of an odde custome, peculiar to the *English* alone, and whereby they are distinguished from other Nations, which is, *To make still towards the Chimney*, though it bee in the *Dog-dayes*.

SECT. XVI.



*L*anguage is the greatest outward testimony of Travell: Yet is it a vaine and verball Knowledge that rests only in the Tongue; Nor are the observations of the Eye any thing profitable, unlesse the Mind draw

something from the Externe object to enrich the Soule withall, to informe to build up and unbeguile the Inward man, that by the sight of so various objects of Art and Nature, that by the perlustration of such famous Cities, Castles, Amphitheatres, and Palaces; some glorious and new, some mouldred away, and eaten by the Iron-teeth of Time, he come to discern, the best of all earthly things to bee but frayle and transitory. That this World at the best is but a huge Inne, and we but wayfaring men, but Pilgrimes, and a company of rambling Passengers. That we enter first into this World by Travaile, and so passe along with Cries, by weeping crosse [to mile end]: So that it was no improper Character the Wisest of Kings gave of this life to be nought else but a continuall Travell: as the Author crossing once over the Pyrenes, writ to a Noble friend of his in this distique,

Vita Peregrinans Iter est, sacra pagina monstrat,  
Nunc verè vitam, nam peregrinor, ago.

Yet amongst these passengers, some find warme lodgings in this Inne, with soft beds, the table plentifully furnished, And such is the pooreness of some Spirits, and the narrowness of their Soules, and they are so nailed to the Earth, that when they are almost at their Fourneyes end, when they lye wind-bound at the Cape of good Hope, and have one foot in the Barge ready to go off, with the next Gale to another Countrey, to their last home: Yet, as the Orator saith, *Quòd minus viæ restat èd plus viatici quærun*t, the lesse way remains, the more provision they make still for their journey.

Other Passengers there are, which find but short commons, they are forced to trudge up and down for a roome to lay their heads upon, and would bee well content with a trucklebed, or a mattresse in the garret, for want whereof, they are often constrained [put] to lye in state [abroad] against their wils in the Starre Chamber, [but much against their wills] having [though they have] the Heaven for their Canopy, and the breasts of their Common Mother for their pillow.



*And it is the high pleasure of Providence this disparity should be 'twixt the Citizens of this World, and that the earth should be divided into such unequall portions, to leave place for Industry, Labour, and Wit, the Children of Necessity, and Parents of Vertue, for otherwise, few or none would purchase any ground upon Parnassus Hill.*

To see the *Escuriall* in *Spaine*, or the *Plate-Fleet* at her first arrivall; To see *Saint Denis*, the late *Cardinal-Palace* in *Richelieu*, and other things in *France*; To see the *Citadell* of *Antwerp*; The *New Towne* of *Amsterdam*, and the *Forrest* of *Masts*, which lye perpetually before her; To see the *Imperiall*, and stately *Hans Towns* of *Germany*; To see the *Treasurie* of *Saint Mark*, and *Arsenall* of *Venice*; The *Mount* of *Piety* in *Naples*; The *Dome* and *Castle* of *Milan*; The proud *Palaces* in and about *Genoua*, whereof there are two hundred within two miles of the *Towne*; and not one of the same forme of building; To see *Saint Peter's Church*, the *Vatican*, and other magnificent structures in *Rome*, who in the case she stands in, may be said to be but her owne *Tombe*, in comparifon of what she hath beene, being fallen from the *Hils* to the *Plaines*.

To be able to sp[e]ake many Languages, as the *Voluble French*, the *Courtly Italian*, the *Lofty Spanish*, the *Lusty Dutch*, the *Powerfull Latine*, the *Scientifique* and happily compounding *Greek*, the most *Spacious Slavonique*, the *Mysticall Hebrew* with all her *Dialects*: *All this is but vanity and superficiall Knowledge, unlesse the inward man be bettered hereby; unlesse by seeing and perusing the volume of the Great World, one learne to know the Little, which is himselfe, unles one learne to governe and check the passions, our Domestique Enemies, then which nothing can conduce more to gentlenes of mind, to Elegancy of Manners, and Solid Wisdome. But principally, unlesse by surveying and admiring his works abroad, one improve himself in the knowledge of his Creator, præ quo quisquiliæ cætera; in comparifon whereof the best of sublunary blessings are but bables, and*

this indeed, this *Vnum necessarium*, should be the center to which *Travell should tend*.

Moreover, one should evertuate himselfe to bring something home, that may accrue to the publique benefit and advantage of his Countrey, and not to draw water to his own Mill only; For of those *three* that the *Orator* saith, challenge a share in our *Nativity*, our *Countrey* is the first, and *our selfs* last. Therefore he should pry into the *Policy and municipall Lawes* of other *States* and *Cities*, and be able to render an accompt of their government, and by collation thereof with that of his own, Examine well whether any wholesome constitution or custome may be applyable to the frame of his owne Countrey.

It is recorded in an ancient *Greek Author*, that the famous *Ptolomey*, he who conversed and *Travelled* so much amongst Heavenly bodies, culled out a select number of his pregnantest young Nobles, and Gentlemen to go to *Greece, Italy, Carthage*, and other *Regions*, and the prime Instruction they had in charge, was, to observe the *Government*, as they *Travelled* along, and bring back *three* of the wholesomest *Lawes* out of every Countrey. Being returned, they related that in the *Roman Republique*, a most singular veneration was had of the *Temples*, a punctuall obedience to *Governors*, and unavoydable punishments inflicted upon malefactors.

*In Carthage, the Senat commanded, the Nobles executed, and the People obeyed.*

*In Athens the Rich were not suffered to be Extortioners, the Poore idle, nor the Magistrates ignorant.*

*In Rhodes Old men were Venerable, Young men modest, and Women solitary and silent.*

*In Thebes the Nobles did fight, the Plebeians labour, and Philosophers teach.*

*In Sicilly Justice was entirely administred, Commerce was honestly exercised, and all enjoyed equall priviledges and interest in the State.*

*Among the Sicionians there were admitted neither Physitians to hinder the operations of Nature; nor*

*Strangers, to introduce innovations; nor Lawyers, to multiply Contentions.*

These men it seemes did not go out to see feathers fly in the Ayre, or *Reeds shaken with the wind*, they did not go to get Compliments or Cringes, or Cariage of bodies, or new Modes of cloathing, or to tip the tongue with a little Language only, but they searchd into the solideft and usefulleft part of humane Wifdome, which is policy; And doubtlesse, that rare wise King made excellent use of their observations, and rewarded them accordingly: And *one of the happiest advantages to a Monarchy is, to have a discerning and bountifull King when occasion requires, for Subjects are accordingly active or idle, as they find their Prince able to judge of their merit and endeavours, and so employ them; for in the Common-wealth of Letters, and speculative Orbe of Vertue, the benigne aspect and influence of the Prince, is as Apollo was to the Muses, it gives a kind of comfortable heate, and illumination, whereby they are cherished and made vigorous.*

The most materiall use therefore of *Forraine Travel* is to find out something that may bee applyable to the publique utility of one's own Countrey, as a *Noble Personage* of late yeares did, who observing the uniforme and regular way of stone structure up and down *Italy*, hath introduced that *forme* of building to *London* and *Westminster*, and else where, which though distastfull at first, as all innovations are; *For they seeme like Bug-beares, or Gorgons heads, to the vulgar*; yet they find now the *commodity, firmeneffe and beauty* thereof, the three maine principles of Architecture.

*Another* seeing their *Dikes*, and draynings in the *Netherlands*, hath been a cause that much hath bene added, to lengthen the skirts of this *Island*.

*Another* in imitation of their *aqueducts* and *fluces*, and conveyance of waters abroad, brought *Ware-water* through *London streets*: And it had been wished so great and renowned a *City* had not forgot *Him* so soon, considering what infinite advantages redounds to her thereby;

for in other Countreys I have seene *Statues* erected to persons in the most eminentest places (to eternize their memories by way of gratitude) for Inventions of farre lesser consequence to the encouragement of others, for it is an old *Rule of State*, and will be in date to the Worlds end, that *Honor nourisheth Arts*, and is the *golden spurre of Vertue and industry*.

SECT. XVII.



Mongst many other fruits of *Forraine Travell*, besides the delightfull ideas, and a thousand various thoughts and selfe contentments and inward solaces, it raiseth in the memory of things past, this is one: That when one hath seene the *Tally and taillage of France*, the *Milstone of Spaine*, the *Afsise of Holland*, the *Gabels of Italy*, where one cannot bring an *EGGE*, or roote to the market, but the Prince his part lyes *therinna*: When he hath felt the *excesse of heat*, the dangerous *Serains*, the *Poverty of soyle in many places*, the *Homelinese and incommodity of lodging*, the *course cloathing of the best sort of Peasants*, their *wooden shooes*, and *straw hats*, their *Canvas breeches*, and *Buckram petticoates*, their *meager fare*, feeding commonly upon *Grasse, Hearbs, and Roots*, and drinking *Water*, neere the condition of brute animals, *who find the cloth always ready layed, and the buttry open*: When hee hath observed what a hard shift some make to hewe out a dwelling in the *holes of the Rocks*; others to dig one *under the Sea*; when he fees, how in some Climes *the Heaven is as Brasse*, in others as a *dropping Sponge*; in others as a *great Bellows*, most part of the yeare; how the *Earth*, in many places is ever and anone sick of a *fit of the Palsie*; When hee sees the same *Sun* which only *cherisheth and gently warmes his Countrey men*, halfe *parboyle and tanne other people*, and those rayes which scorch the *adusted soyles of Calabria and Spaine*, only *varnish and guild the green hony-suckled plaines and hillocks of*

England; When he hath observed what hard *shifts* some make to *rub* out in this world in divers Countreys, *What speed Nature makes to finish her cours in them*; How their best sort of women after *forty*, are presently *superannuated*, and looke like another *Charing-Crosse*, or *Carackes that have passed the Line in three voyages to the Indies*: When hee hath observed all this, At his returne home, hee will bleffe God, and love *England* better ever after, both for the *Equality of the Temper* in the Clime, where there is no where the like, take all the Seasons of the yeare together, (though some would wish *She* might bee pushed a little nearer the *Sun* :) For the *free condition of the subject*, and *equall participation of the Wealth of the Land*, for the *unparalleled accomodation of lodging*, and *security of Travell*, for the *admirable hospitality*, for the *variety and plenty of all sorts of firme food*, for *attendance and cleanness*, for the *rare fertility of Shoare and Sea, of Ayre, Earth, and Water*, for the *longevity, well favourednesse and innated honesty of the people*: And above all; for the *moderation and decency in celebrating the true service of God*, being farre from *Superstition* one way, and from *Prophanesse* the other way, (though (with a quaking heart, I speake it) there have been strange infolencies committed of late) I say, when hee hath well observed all this, he will sing, as once I did to a Noble friend of mine from *Denmarque*, in this *Sapphique*:

*Dulcior fumus Patriæ, forensi*

*Flammula, vino, præit unda, terræ*

*Herba Britannæ [nativæ] mage transmarino*

*Flore suavis.*

### SECT. XVIII.



Having thus tasted of so many waters, and beene *Salted* in the World abroad, and being safely restored to the bosome of his owne *Countrey*, his next cours should bee, to fettle himselfe awhile in one of the

*Innes of Court*, (which hee may do and yet bee a *Courtier* besides) to understand something of the *Common Lawes of England*, which are the inheritance of every subject, as also of the constitutions and Orders of the *House of Parliament*, the most indifferent, most wholesome, and Noblest way of Government in the World, both in respect of *King and People*: *It being the greatest glory of a King, to be King of a free and well-crested people, and the greatest glory of a People to bee under a Crown so embellished with Flowers, and sparckling with such ancient and sacred gemmes of Royall Prerogatives: Yet to bee under no Law but of their owne making, to bee the Setters of the great Dyall of the Commonwealth themselves. To be subject to no Ordinance, to no Contribution or Taxe, but what is granted in that great Epidemicall Counsell, wherein every one from the Peere to the Plebeian hath an inclusive Vote. And if every degree high and low, both in Towne and Countrey is there represented by their Substitutes; it were a hard measure (under correction, I humbly speake it) if the Levites, the best of all professions, who besides the holinesse of their function (as having charge of the Nobler halfe of man, of that which should guide and regulate the Understanding in making of all Lawes, I meane the Conscience) do make a considerable part of the People of the Kingdome, should be thence excluded; for though it be inconsistent with their calling to have hands to execute, yet they may well have heads to consult in that great Nationall Senat: It were a hard case, I say, if those great Lights, which were used to shine with that brightnesse to the Envy (not the reproach or Scandall of any that I know of) of all other Reformed Churches, should be now put in wooden Candlesticks: That those Promotions, Endowments, and Honors, which our [pious and] well disposed Progenitors provided, to nourish the Arts, and serve as Spurres to Learning and Zeale, should now be cut off, as if they served only for Stirropps to Pride. There being no professions, but have certaine steps of rising up,*

and degrees of Promotion for their encouragement to make men *æmulari meliora*. And he who hath spent the vigor of his yeares and Intellectuals in the *Lords Vineyard*, it may well become him (having served, as it were, his yeare of *Jubile*) to have his gray haire dignified with some Honor and Authority, with reward and rest in his old age, and by his long experience and paines to see that other painefull Labourers be put into the *Vine-yard*, yet to have his hand often on the Plough himselfe. If there bee a *theefe in the Candle*, (as wee use to say commonly) there is a way to pull it out; and not to put out the Candle, by clapping an *Extinguisher* presently upon it; If these *Lights* grow dim, there is a *Trienniall Snuffer* for them: If these Trees beare not good fruit, or shoot forth any *Luxuriant* boughs, they are sure to feele the *Pruning iron* once every three yeares.

In the name of God, let these *Lights* be brought to move within the circumference of their own *Orbes*, and be kept from irregular and *eccentrique* motions, And I am confident it will render them lesse obnoxious to *Envy and Scandal*, and draw upon them a greater opinion of *Reverence*.

There is a Castle in the *grand Caire in Ægypt*, called the *Nilescope*, where there stands a *Pillar* with certaine markes to observe the height of the River of *Nile*, at her annuall inundation (which falls out precisely about the Summer Solstice) if the streame come to bee higher or lower than such markes, it portends *dearth*, but if at highest flood it rest about the middle, it is an infallible presage of a plentifull yeare: So we may say of these great *Streames* that are appointed to water the Lords Field, they must not *swell too high*, nor must they run in too *low a Channell*: And [Now] as *humility is the fairest gemme that can shine in a Prelats Miter*, so the greatest badge of a well devoted Soule, is to reverence the *Dispensers of the sacred Oracles of God, the Ghostly Fathers, and Governors of the Church* (which in analogy to the *Triumphant in Heaven*, hath also her degrees of

*Hierarchy*.) For besides *Revenue* there is a *Veneration*, due to this holy function, and it were no hard matter to produce a *Gran Fury* of examples both *Humane* and *Divine*, that where this *Reverence* fayled, it hath been a fymptome, and an infallible preface of a declining State, or [and] fome approaching judgement.

But I hope I fhall never live to fee the day that the noble *English Nation*, who have been fo renowned all the world over, and cryed up for their exemplary *Piety*, as well as *Proweffe*, will undervalue themfelves fo farre, and [or] grow [fo] diftruffull or confcious of their owne judgements, [of] their owne wonted *Worth*, and *Ability* fo far, as to thinke thofe *Nations* (who have not meanes to make the *Church* fhine with that luftre) to be *Wifer* than they, or to out go them in zeale, [I fay, I hope the time will never com that the *English* will be fo poor fpirited;] as to receive laws for the Confcience, and forme of ferving God from thofe [people] who have been [fo] far behind them, both in the firft *Reception* of *Christianity* and [in] the *Reformation* thereof—*Proh pudor*—I will not fay, by what I heard muttered abroad, it will be accounted a *Nationall diminution*, but if it fhould fo fall out, it is no hard matter to be a Prophet, yea, by what hath paffed already, to take a plaine profpect of thofe Anarchicall confufions, and fearefull calamities, which will inevitably enfue both in *Church and State*; unleffe with the pious care which is already taken to hinder the *great Beast* to breake into the *Vineyard*; there be alfo a speedy cours taken to fence *Her* from *other Vermine*, and *leffer Animals* (the *belluam multorum capitum*) which begin to brouze her leaves, to throw down her hedges, and fo lay her open to waft, fpoyle and fcorne: [I fpeak it again with fear and trembling, that England is quite loft.] Vnleffe there bee a cours taken, I fay, to fuppreffe thofe petty Sectaries, which swarme fo in every corner, with that connivence (to the amazement of all the world, and difparagement of fo well a policed Kingdome) who by their capricious and various kind of gingling fancies in ferving God



[spirituall matters], do their best to bring in the opinion of the Pagan Philosopher (*Themistius*) delivered once to *Valens* the Emperor, *That as God Almighty had infused into his handmaid Nature, a diversity of operations, and that the beauty of the Universe consisted in a proportion of so many differing things, so he was delighted to see himselfe served by [in] various and sundry kinds of worship and invocations.*

In all humbleness, (and with submission of censure) I desire to be dispensed withall for this excursion out of my first intended subject, but I hope the *digression* will prove no *transgression*, in regard the *quality* of the *matter* is such, that every one hath a share and interest in it, and should be sensible, when that *Liturgy* and *Church* is vilified, wherein he hath received his *Birth* and *Baptism*, and by whose compasse hee steeres his cours to Heaven: *When the Windows come down (and the chief Pillars threatned) the House must needs be in danger of falling, and he is worthy to be called a Niding, one, the pulse of whose soule beates but faintly towards Heaven, as having taken but weake impressions of the image of his Maker, who will not run and reach his hand to beare up his Temple.*

## SEC. XIX.



**T**N the *Inns of Court*, where I left my returned *Traveller*, hee will be acquainted with *Westminster-Hall*, with the courses of *pleading* in the Courts of Iudicature, by which Knowledge, he may learne how to preserve his own, for, for want of some experience herein, many have mightily suffered in their estates, and made themselves a prey to their solicitors and Agents: Nor indeed is he capable to beare any Rule or Office in Town or Countrey, who is utterly unacquainted with *Fohn an Okes*, and *Fohn a Stiles*, and with their *Termes*.

Having beene thus settled awhile at home, if businesse and the quality of his life will permit, hee may

make one flying journey over againe, and in one Summer review all those Countreys, which hee had beene forty Months a seeing before: And *as the second thoughts are held the wisest, so a second survey is more exact, and of a more retentive vertue, and amongst other benefits, it will infinitely improve one in his language.* Noah's Dove brought the branch of Olive in her Bill, at her Second journey; from the latter end of Mars, to the beginning of October, one may leasurely traverse France, crosse the Pyreneys, the Mediterranean, and the Alpes, and so returne either through Germany or through France againe, and thence come home through the Netherlands: But being (*bis Redux*) returned the second time, let him thinke no more of Forrain Journeys, unlesse it be by command, and upon publique service.

Now to find entertainment for his houres of leasure at home, hee may amongst other studies, if his inclination leads him that way, apply himselfe to the most materiall and usefull parts of the Mathematicques, as the Art of Navigation and Fortification. *The study of the Mathematicques is abstruse, and therefore they require a ripe and well-seasoned judgement, they have this property, to make a dull capacity acute, and an acute capacity dull, if hee falls unto them too soon:* which makes us to be censured abroad in the [for the preposterous] *method* of our studies in England, to make [by making] *green wits* not yet halfe coddled as it were, to fall too early to such profound notions in our *Universities*, as putting [which is as much as to put] children to stand too soon upon their leggs.

For Conclusion, in this variety of studies and diversifments, I will give him this Caution, that hee fall not into the hands of *Alchymist*, for though there be a world of rare conclusions, and delightfull experiments (most usefull and proper for Physitians) to be found in *Chymistry* which makes many to bee so *enchanted* therewith (that being got once in, they have not power to get out againe) Yet I never knew any yet, who made

the *benefit* countervaile the *charge*; but I have knowne many *melt* themselves [herby] to nothing (like [as] *Icarus* wings melted, [did] when he attempted the *Art* of flying) And while they labour so [So these devout Naturalists and Disciples of Demogorgon while] with the *sweat* of their brows to *blow* [they ly blowing] *the cole*, and [to] *bring gold over the helm*, they commonly *make a shipwrack of* [all] *their own fortunes*.

*Et bona dilapidant omnia pro lapide.*

And the reason well may be, that 'tis doubted, whether such undertakings, bee pleasing to God Almighty or no, for though *Art be Nature's Ape*, and is found to perfect her in some things: Yet, it may well bee termed a kind of *Presumption* in man (by fetching downe the *Planets* and damning them as *criminals* to certaine *Mettals*) to attempt the *transmutation of one species into another*, as it were against the first ordinance of the *Creator*, and the primitive intent of *Nature*, whose *hand-maid* shee is, in the *Production* of all Elementary bodies: Therefore to be led into a kind of fooles *Paradis*, and a conceipt of the *Philosophers-Stone*, and to spend much money in *Chymistry*, hee shall never have the advife of

JAMES HOWELL.

FINIS.



AN  
APPENDIX  
OF  
SOME DIRECTIONS  
for *travelling* into *Turky*  
and the *Levant* parts.



IF my *Travellers* curiosity hath a further extent, and that Europe cannot bound the largnes of his desires, but that he hath a disposition to see the *Turks* dominions, which next to *Christendome* are fittest to be known, in regard He is the sole Earthly potentat, and fatallst foe of the Crosse of Christ, and so som advantages may be taken by prying into the errors of his government and weaknesse of his dominions, I say if he hath a mind to make som researches what kind of Soule doth inform, actuat, govern, and conserve that vast Empire, which is an extension of about three thousand two hundred miles in one continued peece, a narrow neck of Sea onely excepted, If his fancy bends that way. He may either take his advantage of the season, that our company of *Turky* Marchants set out their Shippes for *Con-*

*Constantinople*, which commonly is in the Spring, wherein hee may go with little danger (and lesse expence) for they are lusty vessels every way well appointed, and passing in one of them, he may have the opportunity to land at divers port Townes in *Spaine*, *Italy*, or *Greece*, and yet reach *Constantinople* in lesse then three Months: Or he may go through *France*, and so crosse the *Alps*, or Embarke at *Marseilles* for *Ligorn*, where he shall meet with frequent commodity of shipping from *Smyrna*.

Or else he may go to *Venice*, where he may agree with a Janizary to conduct him in company of a Caravan all the way through the Continent of *Greece* as farre as *Constantinople*, where in the way he may ruthfully observe how that Country, which was used to be the nource of all speculative knowledge, as also of policy and prowesse, is now orewhelm'd with barbarisme and ignorance, with slavery and abjection of Spirit: He will admire how the whole people are degenerated both in their hearts and heads, from the ancient courage and knowledg they were so cryed up for in former ages; In this journey he will meet with fundry sorts of nations that go with the Caravan; specially with Jewes, as well as with Greeks and other Christians, therefore as he is to bee reserv'd in concealing his own Religion, so he must be a *πολυτροπος* he must become all to all in point of morall conversation.

Being come to *Constantinople* he shall behold that City which by the advantage of her situation is fittest of all other to be mistresse of the Earth, for she stands almost in the midst of the old world, therefore hath she the advantage of receiving accounts, and issuing out commands from and to all other Countreys with more celerity: She hath on the one side immediat commerce with *Thrace*, as on the other with *Asia*; The *Pontus* or black Sea washeth her one of her skirts, and the *Marmora*, or *Hellepont*, the other, the mouths of which seas are so narrow, that no passage can be forc'd against

her Castles. Now as the first glance makes the smartest impression of the object, so a fresh Commer to any strange place apprehends things with a cleerer judgement, with a greater pleasure and a greedier desire then when the object is grown stale and familiar unto him, therefore in this respect, he who arrives suddenly from ship to shore at any great Town, in a strange Countrey, hath a greater advantage, then he who passeth by degrees from the skirts thereof to the centre.

In the *Port*, for *Constantinople* is called so κατ'ἔξοχὴν he may observe more then any where else, the *Religion*, the *Justice*, the *militia*, and *moralities* of the Musulmen. Touching their *Religion*, he must observe how it differ's, and in what point it conformes with other Religions; how *Christians* are more beholden to the *Turk* then to the *Jew*, for he acknowledgeth Christ to have been a great Prophet, to have bin born of the *Virgin Mary*, who they say was so before, and after her delivery; they hold that he was conceived by divine inspiration without a Father, as *Adam* was created without a Mother; They beleve further that he was not crucified but taken up to Heaven, and that he shall come again at the end of the world on Earth againe, and that the *Jews* did not put *him* to death, but another man who resembled him: Hee may observe the substance of their Religion, which is, that they beleve one sole GOD, CREATOR of the whole World, the punisher of the bad, and Rewarder of the good, who hath created Hell for the one, and Paradis for the other; the felicity whereof consists in the height of sensuall delights. They beleve the Decalog of *Moses*, Friday is their Sabbath, they pray five times a day, They have no bells but a Cryer out of a high Tower; They are great Founders of Hospitalls, of Hanes to entertain Travellers, of bridges, Repairers of high wayes, and great builders of Temples which are very stately though their own Houfes be homely; which Temples they reverence in the humblest postures that the body can

put it selfe in, they first sit crosse-legg'd waving their limms, and prostrat themselves often on their faces to kisse the Earth, afterwards they stand up with their hands bow'd at their Eares, and in these kinds of Church-gesticulations, they differ from all other people. They are obliged to give the first day of the yeare the Tith of all their gaines to the poore for a new yeares-gift. They pray for the dead and invoke Saints: They so adore the *Alcoran* that they never put it under their girdles, 'tis death to translate it out of *Arabic* into any vulgar language, or for any lay man to dispute of it, or raise any scruples, which they say is the cause of such a rare uniformity and universall obedience among such swarmes of severall Nations that professe Mahometisme; They are chary of the conscience, in so much that they put no man to his Oath, 'tis enough that he sweare by the faith of a *Musulman*.

Now 'tis thought that this Religion is like to be of long continuance, because there is no nation where the Church man is more powerfull and of greater esteem, in regard that all their Iudges are Ecclesiastiques, and so have power o're the body [and] soule.

As touching their *Iustice* though it be more arbitrary, 'tis far more *speedy* than among *Christians* and more severe; The cause of the speediness is, that there are no deeds, dead precedents, or any moth eaten record to puzzle and retard the businesse, but upon production of witnes the Sute is suddenly determined *Secundum allegata et probata*, every man being his own advocat; 'Tis true appeales in som cases may be made to the *Mufiti* who is their chiefest Bishop, whom they have in extreme reverence, that neither the *Gran Visiar*, or the Emperour Himselfe will question his sentence, but acquiesse thereon: As their justice is more *speedy*, so it is more *severe*, for they have fundry sorts of punishments that torture the sense a longer time, as *drubbing*, *guunshing*, *slaying alive*, *impaling*, and thrusting of lances through the fondament, &c.

Touching their *Militia*, they go with greater animosity against the *European*, than against the *Persian*, to prevent their destruction which divers of their prophecies tel them shal com from the Christian.

Touching the morall behaviour of the Turks, they may be a pattern to some Christian nations in point of common *humanity*; At their meetings they bow their bodies with very gentle and hearty salutes, among the rest 'tis admirable how humble and courteous their very Mariners are to Passengers, nothing so boorish as I know som Nations to be, the left side among Soldiers is the better hand, because he hath the freer command of his sword, they never uncover their heads or take off their turbants, so that in the rough of their fury the greatest Execration they use to rap out, is, *God send thee as much trouble as a Christians hatt*, which is almost in perpetuall motion.

In *Constantinople*, one may discern the power of the Turk, but if my Traveller desires to pry into his *Policy*; let him venture to the gran *Cayro*, and from *Constantinople* he shall meet with frequent conveniences to passe by Sea to *Alexandria*, and so up the *Nile* thither, and if he cut out his time so that he may be there 'twixt the Summer Solstice and *October*, he may behold that *Mysterious* River in her highest pride. Being arrived at the gran *Cayro* he shall see the greatest heap of slaves upon Earth in one body, a City of 35. miles compas, having 35000. Churches, and 24000. streets, in and about that City there are the agedst sort of antiquities upon Earth, for they will speake you of Kings they had eighteen thousand years agoe, which was before the worlds creation according to our compute above twelve thousand yeares: If he will observe the *genius* of the Egyptian, he will find him to be a Nation of a baser allay then the Turk, a Nation born to obey not to sway, for among the various habitants of the Earth, there is *populus servus et populus dominus*,

There is an hiatus in the thought here: the text runs on as follows—



such as to see the holy Sepulcher he may passe home by Jerusalem, and all this he may do in as short a compass of time as the Sun finisheth his periodic annuall motion.

Before my Traveller puts himselfe to such peregrinations, 'tis requisite he should know the use of the Globe before hand, for it is the only way to make one a good *chorographer*, and *Geographer*, whereof the one respects *accidents*, the other *quantities*: Being a good *Globist*, hee will quickly find the *Zenith*, the *distances*, the *climes* and the *Parallells*, and *distances* of Regions as he passeth along; which is easily don, for if he subtract the height of the pole from the quadrant of 90. degrees, the rest will shew the *Zenith* of any place; The *distance* between places may be known by the elevation of the pole, as (to produce a familiar home Example) *Oxford* is commonly held to be 51. degrees 30. minutes, *Yorke* is 54. degrees 30. minutes, subtract the lesser from the greater, then remains 3. degrees which allowing 60. miles to every degree is the distance 'twixt those two Cities. To know the *clime*, and *parallell* double the howers above twelve in the longest solstitiall day, and the product will shew the climat, quadruple them 'twill shew the parallell: lastly, to know the greatnes, and furthest extent of a Region, let him observe the two latitudes, in the *North*, where 'tis greatest, in the *Southern* point where 'tis least, compare the degrees of both, and 'twill shew him the diameter of any Countrey, as for example, in great Britain take the starr point in *Devonshire* which is under 50. degrees in latitude, and the River *Ardurnus* in Scotland which hath 60. degrees (to omit minutes) subduct the 10. odd degrees of difference which being multiplied by sixty a peece will make 600. miles, and that is the utmost extent of this Island.

My Traveller having now breath'd the fiery aires of *Afric*, with the sweete breezes of *Asia*, and *Europe*; having beheld such a multitude of strange objects and

all this, not by hear-fay only, or through the mist of other mens breaths, but through the cleere casements of his own optiques, I say having seen all this, and being safely returned to his Mother foile, he may very well acquieffe in her lap, and terminat his desires from further travell abroad, but be contented to live and dye an *Islander* without treading any more *Continents*.

—*His terminus Esto.*



# English Reprints.

NICHOLAS UDALL, M.A.

Master, in succession, of Eton College and Westminster School.

## Roister Doister.

Written, probably also represented, before 1553.

CAREFULLY EDITED FROM THE UNIQUE COPY,  
NOW AT ETON COLLEGE,

BY

EDWARD ARBER,

*Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.*

LONDON :

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

*Ent. Stat. Hall.*]

24 July, 1869.

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## Dramatis Personæ.

Ralph Roister Doister.

Mathew Merygreeke.

Gawyn Goodluck, *affianced to Dame Custance.*

Tristram Trustie, *his friend.*

Robinet Doughtie, 'boy' to Roister Doister.

Tom Trupenie, *seruant to Dame Custance.*

Sym Suresby, *seruant to Goodluck.*

Scriuener.

*Harpax.*

*Dame Christian Custance, a widow.*

Margerie Mumblecrust, *her nurse.*

Tibet Talk apace, }  
Annot Alyface, } *her maidens.*

TIME. *About Two days.*

SCENE. *Not indicated: ? London.*

A brief Note of the LIFE, WORKS, and TIMES  
of

NICHOLAS UDALL, M.A.

Teacher, Dramatist, Translator, Preacher.

In succession Master of Eton College, Rector of Braintree, Prebend of Windsor, Rector of Calborne, and Master of Westminster School.

\* Probable or approximate dates.

There are materials extant for a good *Life* of Udall. Meanwhile there is Mr. Cooper's excellent *Memoir* in the *Shakespeare Society's* reprint of *Ralph Roister Doister* [see No. 5 on p. 8]; and Anthony à-Wood's account of him, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 211. Ed. 1813.

1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII. becomes king.

\*1504. Nicholas Udall . . . was born in Hampshire, and descended from those of his name, living sometimes at Wykeham in the same county.—*Wood*.

1509. April 22. Henry VIII. begins to reign.

1520. June 18. æt. 14. Admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

1524. May 30. æt. 18. Takes his B.A. [*Wood, Fasti Oxon.*, i. 65, Ed. 1815.]

Sept. 3. Elected Probationer Fellow of his College.

1533. May. *Royal MS.* 18 A. Lxiv. p. 275, has two titles. (1) Versis and duties made at the coronation of queen Anne. (2.) Here-

Whitsun Eve. and duties made at the coronation of queen Anne. (2.) Here-  
æt. 27. after ensueth a copie of diuers and sundry verses aswell in latin as in Englishe deuised and made partly by Iohn Ieland and partly by Nicholas Vuedale whereof sum were sette vp and sum were spoken and pronounced vnto the most high and excellent Quene the ladie Anne, wif vnto our sourain lorde King Henry the eight in many goodly and costely pageauntes exhibited and shewed by the mayre and citizens of the famous cite of london at first tyme as hir grace rode from the Towre of London through the said cite to hir most glorious coronation at the monasterie of Westminster on Whitson yeue in th xxv<sup>th</sup> yere of the raigne of our said soueraigne lorde.

The Rev. Dr. Goodford, the present Provost of Eton, has most kindly afforded me interesting information obtained by him from the MS. records of the College; viz., the Audit Rolls and the Bursar's Books, respecting Udall's connection with Eton.

The salary of the Master at Eton was then £10 a year, or fifty shillings for each of the four terms. In addition, he received 20s. for his 'livery,' and other small sums, as for obits (*i.e.* attending masses for the dead) [*e.g.* Udall received for obits, 14s. 8d. in 1535, and the same in 1536]; and for candles and ink for the boys [*e.g.* Udall received for these purposes, 23s. 4d. in 1537, and the same in 1538.] If the assumed multiple of 13 truly express the relatively greater purchasing power of gold and silver more than now: the salary and emoluments cannot be considered excessive.

1534. June 19. Udall takes his M.A. [*Wood, Fasti.*, i. 98.]

1534-1543. Udall's name occurs in the Records spelt indifferently  
æt. Woddall, Woodall or Udall. His name first appears in 26 Henry VIII., 1534, when his predecessor Dr. Richard Coxe was paid salary for three terms, and Udall received 50s. for the fourth, his first term. The payments continue on regularly so far as the books are extant, up to 1541. The Records for 1542 are missing. It was in March 1543 that occurred the robbery of silver images and other plate by two Eton scholars, J. Hoorde and T. Cheney, connived at by Udall's servant Gregory, which resulted in Udall's losing his place.

'Thomas Tusser, gentleman,' in *The Author's Life* added to his *Five hundredth points of good husbandrie*, 1573, 4to, thus writes, but without giving any date, of Udall's use of the rod :

From Powles I went, to Aeton sent,  
To learne straight wayes, the Latin phraise,  
Where fiftie three stripes giuen to mee,  
at once I had :

Nicholas  
Udal schole  
master at  
Eton.

For faut but small, or none at all,  
It came to passe, thus beat I was,  
See Udall see, the mercy of thee,  
to mee poore lad.

1537. Sept. 27. Is made Vicar of Braintree. *Newcourt, Rep. ii.* 89.
1542. Udall publishes a translation of the 3rd and 4th books of Erasmus' *Apophtegms*.
- \*1543. *Cott. MS. Titus, B. viii. p. 371*, is a long letter, undated and unaddressed, to some one, as to 'my restitution to the roume of Scholemaister in Eton.'
1544. Dec. 14. Resigns the Vicarship of Braintree. *Newcourt, idem.*
- 1542-1545. He is engaged with the Princess, afterwards Queen Mary and others in translating Erasmus' *Paraphrase of the New Testament* into English.
- '1545, Sept. 30, at London,' date of his *Preface to Lake*.  
In his *Pref.* to *John*, partly translated by Princess Mary, partly by Rev. F. Malet, D.D. ; Udall gives us the following account of female education in his day: which can only, however, apply to a few women, like Elizabeth, Mary, and Lady Jane Grey. 'But nowe in this gracious and blisseful tyme of knowledge, in whiche it hath pleased almighty God to reuele and shewe abroad the lyght of his moste holye ghospell: what a noubre is there of noble women (especially here in this realme of Englande,) yea and howe many in the yeares of tender vyrginitiee, not only aswel seen and as familiarly trade in the Latine and Greke tongues, as in their owne mother language: but also both in all kindes of prophane litterature, and liberall artes, exactely studied and exercised, and in the holy Scriptures and Theologie so ripe, that they are able aptely cunninggly, and with much grace eyther to indiecte or translate into the vulgare tongue, for the publike instrucion and edifying of the vnlearned multitude. . . . It is nowe no newes in Englande to see young damisels in nobles houses and in the Courtes of Princes, in stede of cardes and other instrumentes of idle trifleyng, to haue continually in her handes, eyther Psalmes, Omelies, and other deuoute meditations, or elles Paules Epistles, or some booke of holye Scripture matiers: and as familiarlye both to reade or reason thereof in Greke, Latine, Frenche, or Italian, as in Englishe.'
1547. Jan. 28. Edward VI. ascends the throne.
- '1552. July 20. At Windsor.' The date of Udall's preface to the translation by himself and others, of T. Gemini's *Anatomy*.
1553. July 6. Mary succeeds to the crown.
1554. Dec. 3. Date of a warrant dormer from the Queen to the Master of her Revels. [Reprinted in *The Loseley MSS.* Ed. by A. J. KEMPE, F.S.A. London. 1836.] The warrant runs thus— 'Whereas our welbeloued Nicholas Udall hath at soondrie seasons convenient heretofore shewed and myndeth hereafter to shewe his diligence in setting forth of Dialogues and Enterludes before us fo' ou' regell disporte and recreation.' . . . And then goes on to authorize the loan of apparel for those purposes. Did the popularity of the Dramatist, and her personal acquaintance with him, since they had worked together on Erasmus' *Paraphrase*, lead the Queen to condone the intense Protestantism of the Preacher, even to the continuing of him in favour? Udall and Ascham, two noted Protestants, are both favoured by Mary.
- \*1555. Udall is appointed Master of Westminster School, and so continues until Mary re-establishes the Monastery at Westminster.
1556. Nov. Udall dies.
1556. Dec. 23. He is buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster. *Cooper, as above.*

# ROISTER DOISTER.

## INTRODUCTION.



THE author and early date of the present Comedy are ascertained by a quotation in Sir Thomas Wilson's *Rule of Reason* of Roister Doister's letter to Dame Cufftance.

The first edition of the *Rule of Reason*, 1550-1, is a very scarce work ; of which I have been unable to see a copy. The second edition, 1552, 8vo, 'newely corrected by Thomas Vvilson,' has *not* the quotation : which apparently first appears in the third edition of 1553, 4to, the title of which runs, "The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of *Logique*. Sette furthe in Englishe, and newly corrected by Thomas Wilson. Anno Domini. M.D.LIII. Menfe Ianuarij."

At folio 66 of this edition, Wilson, in treating of *The Ambiguitie*, adds to his previous examples, Roister Doister's letter, with the following heading :

¶ An example of socke doubtful writing, whiche by reason of pointing maie haue double sense, and contrarie meaning, taken out of an entrelude made by Nicolas Vdal.

The present comedy was therefore undoubtedly written before the close of the reign of Edward VI., who died 6 July 1553.

If it was then printed, that entire edition has perished. The prayer for the Queen at p. 86, can be for no other than Queen Elizabeth : and therefore, although the title-page is wanting and there is no conclusive allusion in the play, it may confidently be believed that the extant text was printed in Elizabeth's reign : and that it had possibly in some respects been modified.

There now comes the evidence of the Stationers Co.'s Register, as quoted by Mr. Collier, *Extracts*, i. 154, Ed. 1848 :

Rd of Thomas Hackett, for hys lycense for pryntinge of a play intituled Rauf Ruyster Duster, &c. . . . . iiijd

The missing title-page and the absence of any colophon in the Eton copy, here reprinted, preclude demonstrative proof that it is one of Hackett's edition. It is however morally certain that it does represent that text.

On the whole, therefore, though that text was posthumous—

Udall having died in Dec. 1556—: and though its authorship rests entirely on the above heading of Wilfon's quotation: it may be safely accepted that Udall is the author of this comedy, and that he wrote it before 1553. Conclusions both of them consonant with the known facts of Udall's life.

The comedy was probably first written for the Eton boys to act. Mr. W. D. Cooper thus writes:—

Certain, however, it is that it was the custom of Eton, about the feast of St. Andrew, for the Master to choose some Latin stage-play for the boys to act in the following Christmas holidays, and that he might sometimes order smart and witty English plays. "Among the writings of Udall about the year 1540," says Warton, "are recited *Plures Comediæ*, and a tragedy *De Papatu*, on the Papacy, written probably to be acted by his scholars;" and it is equally probable that the English comedy was written with a like object; for it is admirably adapted to be a good acting play, and the author avows in the prologue that his models were Plautus and Terence, with whose writings his scholars were familiar.

Of the few dramatic pieces of that early period that have survived, *Roister Doister* is regarded as the transition-play from the Mysteries and Enterludes of the Middle Ages to the Comedies of modern times. A critical examination of its position in our Literature has been made by Mr. Collier. *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*. ii. 445-460 Ed. 1830. A full consideration of the play would exceed our present limits: we may however call attention to the peculiar rhyme in which Udall wrote it.

In the present reprint, the text appears according to modern usage: but in the original it stands in lines of unvarying length. Where the speech is continuous, these lines rhyme like our ordinary poetry: but when the dialogue is short; one, two, three or more speeches are thrown into one line, and the last syllables of that line—whether they occur in words in the middle or at the end of a sentence, as dictated simply by the length of line of type—are made to rough rhyme in couplets. Thus an irregular assonance jingles through the play.

On the opposite page are a few lines set up as in the original, to illustrate this peculiarity; and also to show the mode used of marking the actor's names. May this peculiar rhyme be accepted as any evidence that Udall composed this play as much for the press as the stage?

There being no description of the representation and the stage directions being scanty: *Roister Doister* should be read a first time to learn the plot; a second time to imagine the action: and a third to combine and enjoy the two.



## ACTUS. iij. SCÆNA. v.

Bottom of the second, even-numbered page of folio 24, in the original edition.

- C. C*ustance. Trupenie get thee in, thou shalt among them knowe,  
How to vse thy selfe, like a propre man I trowe.
- T*rupeny. I go. *E*x. *C. C.* Now Tristram Trusty I thank you right much.  
For at my first sending to come ye neuer grutch.
- T. T*rusty. Dame Cufstance God ye faue, and while my life shall last,  
For my friende Goodlucks fake ye shall not sende in wast.
- C. C*ustance. He shal giue you thanks. *T. T*rusty. I wil do much for his fake
- C. C*ustance. But alack, I feare, great displeasure shall be take.
- T. T*rusty. Wherfore? *C. C.* For a foolish matter. *T. T.* What is your cause
- C. C*ustance. I am yll accombred with a couple of dawes.

Nay

Top of the first, odd-numbered page of folio 25.

## *Roister Doister.*

- Nay weepe not woman ; but tell me what your cause is  
As concerning my friende is any thing amisse ?
- No not on my part : but here was Sym Surefby.
- He was with me and tolde me so. *C. C.* And he stooode by  
While Ralph Roister Doister with helpe of Merygreeke,  
For promise of mariage dyd vnto me seeke.
- T. T*rusty. *C. C*ustance.
- T. T*rustie.

## Roister Doister.

The whole of Udall's plays were supposed to have perished [see *Wood. Ath. Oxon. i. 213*, Ed. 1813]. The Rev. T. Briggs, an old Etonian, in 1818, became the possessor of the now famous unique copy: which he presented to the Library of Eton College, in December of that year.

1. [? 1566.] Lond. ? First edition of a revised text. The copy, now at Eton College, consists of 33 folios. The title-page is wanting.
2. 1818. Lond. '*Ralph Royster Doyster*, A Comedy. London. Reprinted 1 vol. 8vo. in the year 1818,' [Ed. and privately printed by Rev. T. BRIGGS. 30 copies only struck off. The printer was James Compton, Middle St., Cloth Fair, London.] At the beginning is the following *Advertisement*:--

'It appears from the *Biographia Dramatica*, that a Play called *Rauf Ruster Duster* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in the year 1566, but that it was supposed never to have been printed: this, however, is now proved to be a mistake, a copy having been found contained in a collection of plays which was lately upon sale in London. It is true that the name is spelt somewhat differently, but it is presumed there can be no doubt of its being the piece in question. The book unfortunately wants the title-page, and the author's name is not known. It is now in the Library of Eton College, and is here reprinted for the amusement of the reader.'

3. 1821. Lond. '*Ralph Royster Doyster*, a Comedy, entered on the books 1 vol. 8vo. of the Stationers' Company, 1566. London: Printed by F. Marshall, Kenton St., Brunswick Sq., 1821.' [Editor not known.]

R. Southey's copy, with his autograph, and dated 1 Feb. 1837, is in the British Museum. Press-mark, 1344-k.

Neither of the above knew that Udall was the author. The editor of 1821 reprint writes, 'The author, whoever he was,' p. iv. It was Mr. Collier who connected Wilson's quotation with *Roister Doister*, and so proved Udall to be its author. Writing on 14th April 1865; he thus begins the *Preface* of his *Bibl. Account of Ear. Eng. Lit.* Ed. 1865.

'During my whole life, now rapidly approaching fourscore, I have been a diligent reader, and, as far as my means would allow, a greedy purchaser of all works connected with early English literature. It is nearly sixty years since I became possessed of my first really valuable old book of this kind—Wilson's "Art of Logic," printed by Richard Grafton 1551—from which I ascertained the not unimportant facts that "*Ralph Roister Doister*" was an older play than "*Gammer Gurton's Needle*," and that it had been written by Nicholas Udall, Master of Eton School: I thus learned who was the author of the earliest comedy, properly so called, in our language. This was my first literary discovery, made several years anterior, although I had not occasion to render it public, until I printed my Notes upon "*Dodsley's Old Plays*," soon after 1820.\*

4. 1830. Lond. *The Old English Drama*, A series of Plays, at 6d each, 3 vols. 18mo. printed and published by Thomas White. *Ralph Royster Doyster* is the first.
5. 1847. Lond. *Shakespeare Society. Ralph Roister Doister, &c.*, and 1 vol. 8vo. *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*. Edited, with Introductory Memoirs, by W. D. Cooper, F.S.A. The text collated with the original by J. P. Collier, F.S.A.
6. 24 July 1869. Lond. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at p. 1.

∴ All the previous reprints have been and now are unobtainable to most persons. It is to the most courteous and generous kindness of the present Provost and Fellows of Eton College that I am enabled to place what I hope may prove an exact text into the hands of every one. I trust also to keep it perpetually on sale: that the student of the History of our Literature may no longer lack one of the most important illustrations of the growth of English Dramatic Poesy.

\* See vol. ii. p. 3. Ed. 1825.

9

# The Prologue.



That Creature is in health, eyther yong or  
olde,  
But som mirth with modestie wil be glad  
to vse  
As we in thys Enterlude shall now vnfolde,  
Wherin all scurilitie we vtterly refuse,  
Auoiding such mirth wherin is abuse :  
Knowing nothing more comendable for a mans re-  
creation  
Than Mirth which is vsed in an honest fashion :  
For Myrth prolongeth lyfe, and causeth health.  
Mirth recreates our spirites and voydeth pensiuenessse,  
Mirth increaseth amitie, not hindring our wealth,  
Mirth is to be vsed both of more and lesse,  
Being mixed with vertue in decent comlynessse.  
As we trust no good nature can gainfay the same :  
Which mirth we intende to vse, auoidyng all blame.  
The wyse Poets long time heretofore,  
Vnder merrie Comedies secretes did declare,  
Wherein was contained very vertuous lore,  
With mysteries and forewarnings very rare.  
Suche to write neither *Plautus* nor *Terence* dyd spare,  
Whiche among the learned at this day beares the bell:  
These with such other therein dyd excell.  
Our Comedie or Enterlude which we intende to play.  
Is named Royster Doyster in deede.  
Which against the vayne glorious doth inuey,  
Whose humour the roysting fort continually doth feede.  
Thus by your pacience we intende to proceede  
In this our Enterlude by Gods leaue and grace,  
And here I take my leaue for a certaine space.

FINIS.

*Roister Doister.*

Actus. j. Scæna. j.

Mathewe Merygreeke. *He entreth singing.*



S long lyueth the mery man (they say)  
As doth the fory man, and longer  
by a day.

Yet the Grasshopper for all his  
Sommer pipyng,  
Sterueth in Winter wyth hungrie  
gripyng, [men aduise,  
Therefore an other sayd sawe doth

That they be together both mery and wise.  
Thys Lesson must I practife, or else ere long,  
Wyth mee Mathew Merygreeke it will be wrong.  
In deede men so call me, for by him that vs bought,  
What euer chaunce betide, I can take no thought,  
Yet wisedome woulde that I did my selfe bethinke  
Where to be prouided this day of meate and drinke :  
For know ye, that for all this merie note of mine,  
He might appose me now that should aske where I dine.  
My lyuing lieth heere and there, of Gods grace,  
Sometime wyth this good man, fometye in that place,  
Sometime Lewis Loytrer biddeth me come neere,  
Somewhyles Watkin Waster maketh vs good cheere,  
Sometime Dauy Diceplayer when he hath well cast  
Keepeth reuell route as long as it will last.  
Sometime Tom Titiuile maketh vs a feast,  
Sometime with sir Hugh Pye I am a bidden gueast,  
Sometime at Nichol Neuerthriues I get a soppe,  
Sometime I am feasted with Bryan Blinkinsoppe,  
Sometime I hang on Hankyn Hoddydodies fleue,  
But thys day on Ralph Royster Doysters by hys leue.  
For truely of all men he is my chiefe banker  
Both for meate and money, and my chiefe shootanker.

*Roister Doister.*

For, footh Roister Doister in that he doth say,  
 And require what ye will ye shall haue no nay.  
 But now of Roister Doister somewhat to expresse,  
 That ye may esteeme him after hys worthinesse,  
 In these twentie townes and feke them throughout,  
 Is not the like stocke, whereon to graffe a loute.  
 All the day long is he facing and craking  
 Of his great actes in fighting and fraymaking :  
 But when Roister Doister is put to his prooffe,  
 To keepe the Queenes peace is more for his behoofe.  
 If any woman smyle or cast on hym an eye,  
 Vp is he to the harde eares in loue by and by,  
 And in all the hotte haste must she be hys wife.  
 Else farewell hys good days, and farewell his life,  
 Maister Raufe Royster Doister is but dead and gon  
 Excepte she on hym take some compasssion,  
 Then chiefe of counsell, must be Mathew Merygreeke,  
 What if I for mariage to fuche an one seeke ?  
 Then must I footh it, what euer it is :  
 For what he sayth or doth can not be amisse,  
 Holde vp his yea and nay, be his nowne white sonne,  
 Prayse and rouse him well, and ye haue his heart wonne,  
 For so well liketh he his owne fonde fashions  
 That he taketh pride of false commendations.  
 But such sporte haue I with him as I would not leese,  
 Though I should be bounde to lyue with bread and  
 cheefe.

For exalt hym, and haue hym as ye lust in deede :  
 Yea to hold his finger in a hole for a neede.  
 I can with a worde make him fayne or loth,  
 I can with as much make him pleased or wroth,  
 I can when I will make him mery and glad,  
 I can when me lust make him sory and sad,  
 I can set him in hope and eke in dispaire, [faire.  
 I can make him speake rough, and make him speake  
 But I maruell I see hym not all thys fame day,  
 I wyll seeke him out : But loe he commeth thys way,  
 I haue yond espied hym sadly comming,  
 And in loue for twentie pounce, by hys glommyng.

Actus. j. Scæna. ij.

Rafe Roister Doister. Mathew Merygreeke.

R. Royster.



Come death when thou wilt,  
I am weary of my life.

M. Mery. I tolde you I,  
we should wowe another  
wife.

R. Royster. Why did God make me suche a goodly  
person? [sport anon.]

M. Mery. He is in by the weke, we shall haue

R. Royster. And where is my trustie friende Mathew  
Merygreeke?

M. Mery. I wyll make as I sawe him not, he doth  
me seeke. [is hee,

R. Roister. I haue hym espyed me thinketh, yond  
Hough Mathew Merygreeke my friend, a worde with  
thee. [haste,

M. Mery. I wyll not heare him, but make as I had  
Farewell all my good friendes, the tyme away dothe waste,  
And the tide they say, tarieth for no man.

R. Roister. Thou must with thy good counsell helpe  
me if thou can.

M. Mery. God keepe thee worshypfull Maister Roi-  
ster Doister,  
And fare well the lustie Maister Roister Doister.

R. Royster. I muste needes speake with thee a  
worde or twaine. [againe,

M. Mery. Within a month or two I will be here  
Negligence in greate affaires ye knowe may marre all.

R. Roister. Attende vpon me now, and well rewarde  
thee I shall.

M. Mery. I haue take my leaue, and the tide is  
well spent. [content,

R. Roister. I die except thou helpe, I pray thee be  
Doe thy parte wel nowe, and aske what thou wilt,

*Roister Doister.*

For without thy aide my matter is all spilt.

**M. Mery.** Then to serue your turne I will some paines take,

And let all myne owne affaires alone for your sake.

**R. Royster.** My whole hope and trust resteth onely in thee.

**M. Mery.** Then can ye not doe amisse what euer it bee.

**R. Royster.** Gramercies Merygreeke, most bounde to thee I am.

**M. Mery.** But vp with that heart, and speake out like a ramme,

Ye speake like a Capon that had the cough now :

Bee of good cheere, anon ye shall doe well ynow.

**R. Royster.** Vpon thy comforte, I will all things well handle. [candle.

**M. Mery.** So loe, that is a breast to blowe out a  
But what is this great matter I woulde faine knowe,  
We shall fynde remedie therefore I trowe.

Doe ye lacke money? ye knowe myne olde offers,  
Ye haue always a key to my purse and coffers.

**R. Royster.** I thanke thee : had euer man suche a frende? [lende.

**M. Mery.** Ye gyue vnto me : I must needes to you

**R. Royster.** Nay I haue money plentie all things to discharge. [offer so large.

**M. Mery.** That knewe I ryght well when I made  
But it is no suche matter.

**M. Mery.** What is it than?

Are ye in daunger of debte to any man?

If ye be, take no thought nor be not afraide,

Let them hardly take thought how they shall be paide.

**R. Royster.** Tut I owe nought.

**M. Mery.** What then? feare ye imprisonment?

**R. Royster.** No.

**M. Mery.** No I wist ye offende, not so to be shent.  
But if he had, the Toure coulde not you so holde,  
But to breake out at all times ye would be bolde.

What is it? hath any man threatned you to beate?

**R. Royster.** What is he that durst haue put me in that heate?



He that beateth me by his armes shall well fynde,  
That I will not be farre from him nor runne behinde.

**M. Mery.** That thing knowe all men euer since ye  
ouerthrewe,  
The fellow of the Lion which *Hercules* slewe.  
But what is it than?

**R. Royster.** Of loue I make my mone. [alone?

**M. Mery.** Ah this foolishe a loue, wilt neare let vs  
But bicause ye were refused the last day,  
Ye sayd ye woulde nere more be intangled that way.  
I woulde medle no more, since I fynde all so vnkinde.

**R. Royster.** Yea, but I can not so put loue out of  
my minde.

**Math. Mer.** But is your loue tell me first, in any wise,  
In the way of Mariage, or of Merchandise?  
If it may otherwise than lawfull be founde,  
Ye get none of my helpe for an hundred pounce.

**R. Royster.** No by my trouth I woulde haue hir to  
my Wife. [your life,

**M. Mery.** Then are ye a good man, and God faue  
And what or who is she, with whome ye are in loue?

**R. Royster.** A woman whome I knowe not by what  
meanes to moue.

**M. Mery.** Who is it?

**R. Royster.** A woman yond.

**M. Mery.** What is hir name?

**R. Royster.** Hir yonder.

**M. Mery.** Whom.

**R. Royster.** Mistresse ah.

**M. Mery.** Fy fy for shame

Loue ye, and know not whome? but hir yonde, a Woman,  
We shall then get you a Wyfe, I can not tell whan.

**R. Royster.** The faire Woman, that supped wyth  
vs yesternyght,  
And I hearde hir name twice or thrice, and had it ryght.

**M. Mery.** Yea, ye may see ye nere take me to good  
cheere with you,

If ye had, I coulde haue tolde you hir name now.

**R. Royster.** I was to blame in deede, but the nexte  
tyme perchaunce :

And she dwelleth in this house.

**M. Mery.** What Christian Cufance.

**R. Royster.** Except I haue hir to my Wife, I shall runne madde. [for madde.

**M. Mery.** Nay vnwife perhaps, but I warrant you

**R. Royster.** I am vtterly dead vnlesse I haue my desire.

**M. Mery.** Where be the bellows that blewe this fodeine fire?

**R. Royster.** I heare she is worthe a thousande pounde and more. [afore,

**M. Mery.** Yea, but learne this one lesson of me  
An hundred pounde of Marriage money doubtlesse,  
Is euer thirtie pounde sterlyng, or somewhat lesse,  
So that hir Thousande pounde yf she be thriftie,  
Is muche neere about two hundred and fiftie,  
Howbeit wowers and Widowes are neuer poore.

**R. Royster.** Is she a Widowe? I loue hir better therefore.

**M. Mery.** But I heare she hath made promise to another. [my brother.

**R. Royster.** He shall goe without hir, and he were

**M. Mery.** I haue hearde say, I am right well aduised,  
That she hath to Gawyn Goodlucke promised.

**R. Royster.** What is that Gawyn Goodlucke?

**M. Mery.** a Merchant man.

**R. Royster.** Shall he speede afore me? nay fir by sweete Sainct Anne.

Ah fir, Backare quod Mortimer to his sowe,  
I wyll haue hir myne owne selfe I make God a vow.  
For I tell thee, she is worthe a thousande pounde.

**M. Mery.** Yet a fitter wife for your maship might be founde:

Suche a goodly man as you, might get one wyth lande,  
Besides poundes of golde a thousande and a thousande,  
And a thousande, and a thousande, and a thousande,  
And so to the summe of twentie hundred thousande,  
Your most goodly personage is worthie of no lesse.

**R. Royster.** I am forie God made me so comely doubtlesse.

For that maketh me eche where so highly faouered,  
And all women on me so enamoured. [out that?

**M. Mery.** Enamoured quod you? haue ye spied  
Ah fir, mary nowe I see you know what is what.

Enamoured ka? mary fir say that againe,  
But I thought not ye had marked it so plaine.

**R. Royster.** Yes, eche where they gaze all vpon me  
and stare. [they dare.

**M. Mery.** Yea malkyn, I warrant you as muche as  
And ye will not beleue what they say in the streete,  
When your mashyp passeth by all such as I meete,  
That sometimes I can scarce finde what aunswere to  
make.

Who is this (sayth one) fir *Launcelot du lake*?

Who is this, greate *Guy* of Warwike, sayth an other?

No (say I) it is the thirteenth *Hercules* brother.

Who is this? noble *Hector* of *Troy*, sayth the thirde?

No, but of the same nest (say I) it is a birde.

Who is this? greate *Goliah*, *Sampson*, or *Colbrande*?

No (say I) but it is a brute of the Alie lande.

Who is this? greate *Alexander*? or *Charle le Maigne*?

No, it is the tenth Worthie, say I to them agayne:

I knowe not if I sayd well.

**R. Royster.** Yes for so I am.

**M. Mery.** Yea, for there were but nine worthies be-  
fore ye came.

'To some others, the thirde *Cato* I doe you call.

And so as well as I can I aunswere them all.

Sir I pray you, what lorde or great gentleman is this?

Maister Ralph Roister Doister dame say I, ywis.

O Lorde (sayth she than) what a goodly man it is,

Woulde Christ I had such a husbände as he is.

O Lorde (say some) that the sight of his face we lacke:

It is inough for you (say I) to see his backe.

His face is for ladies of high and noble parages.

With whome he hardly scapeth great mariages.

With muche more than this, and much otherwise.

**R. Royster.** I can thee thanke that thou canst suche  
anfweres deuise:

But I perceyue thou doste me throughly knowe.

*Roister Doister.*

**M. Mery.** I marke your maners for myne owne  
learnynge I trowe,

But fuche is your beautie, and fuche are your actes,  
Suche is your perfonage, and fuche are your factes,  
That all women faire and fowle, more and leffe, [leffe,  
That eye you, they lubbe you, they talke of you doubt-  
Your p[<sup>l</sup>]easfaht looke maketh them all merie,  
Ye paffe not by, but they laugh till they be werie,  
Yea and money coulde I haue the truthe to tell,  
Of many, to bryng you that way where they dwell.

**R. Royster.** Merygreeke for this thy reporting well  
of mee: [pardee:

**M. Mery.** What shoulde I else fir, it is my duetie

**R. Royster.** I promise thou shalt not lacke, while I  
haue a grote.

**M. Mery.** Faith fir, and I nere had more nede of a  
newe cote.

**R. Royster.** Thou shalte haue one to morowe, and  
golde for to spende. [ende.

**M. Mery.** Then I trust to bring the day to a good  
For as for mine owne parte hauing money inowe,  
I could lyue onely with the remembrance of you.  
But nowe to your Widowe whome you loue so hotte.

**R. Royster.** By cocke thou sayest truthe, I had al-  
most forgotte. [you what?

**M. Mery.** What if Christian Custance will not haue

**R. Roister.** Haue me? yes I warrant you, neuer  
doubt of that,

I knowe she loueth me, but she dare not speake.

**M. Mery.** In deede meete it were some body should  
it breake. [night,

**R. Roister.** She looked on me twentie tymes yester-  
And laughed so.

**M. Mery.** That she coulde not sitte vpright,

**R. Roister.** No faith coulde she not.

**M. Mery.** No euen such a thing I cast.

**R. Royster.** But for wowyng thou knowest women  
are shamefast. [glad,

But and she knewe my minde, I knowe she would be  
And thinke it the best chaunce that euer she had.

**M. Mery.** Too hir then like a man, and be bolde  
forth to starte,

Wowers neuer speede well, that haue a false harte.

**R. Roister.** What may I best doe?

**M. Mery.** Sir remaine ye a while,  
Ere long one or other of hir house will appere.  
Ye knowe my minde.

**R. Royster.** Yea now hardly lette me alone.

**M. Mery.** In the meane time sir, if you please, I  
wyll home,

And call your Musitians, for in this your case  
It would sette you forth, and all your wowyng grace,  
Ye may not lacke your instrumentes to play and sing.

**R. Royster.** Thou knowest I can doe that.

**M. Mery.** As well as any thing.

Shall I go call your folkes, that ye may shewe a cast?

**R. Royster.** Yea runne I beseeche thee in all possi-  
ble haste.

**M. Mery.** I goe. *Exeat.*

**R. Royster.** Yea for I loue singyng out of measure,  
It comforteth my spirites and doth me great pleasure.  
But who commeth forth yond from my swete hearte  
Custance?

My matter frameth well, thys is a luckie chaunce.

## Actus. j. Scæna. iij.

*Mage Mumble crust, spinning on the distaffe. Tibet  
Talk apace, sowyng. Annot Alyface knittyng.*

**R. Roister.**

**M. Mumb.**



**F** thys distaffe were spoonne  
Margerie Mumblecrust.

**Tib Talk.** Where good  
stale ale is will drinke  
no water I trust.

**M. Mumb.** Dame Custance hath promised vs good  
ale and white bread. [hir head :

**Tib Talk.** If she kepe not promise, I will beshrewe

*Roister Doister.*

But it will be starke nyght before I shall haue done.

**R. Royster.** I will stande here a while, and talke with them anon,

I heare them speake of Custance, which doth my heart good,

To heare hir name spoken doth euen comfort my blood.

**M. Mumbl.** Sit downe to your worke Tibet like a good girle.

**Tib. Talk.** Nourse medle you with your spyndle and your whirle,

No haste but good, Madge Mumblecruft, for whip and whurre

The olde prouerbe doth say, neuer made good furre.

**M. Mumbl.** Well, ye wyll fitte downe to your worke anon, I trust.

**Tib. Talk.** Soft fire maketh sweete malte, good Madge Mumblecruft.

**M. Mumbl.** And sweete malte maketh ioly good ale for the nones.

**Tib. Talk.** Whiche will slide downe the lane without any bones. *Cantet.*

Olde browne bread crustes must haue much good mumblyng,

But goodale downe your throte hath good easie tumbling.

**R. Royster.** The iolyest wenche that ere I hearde, little moufe,

May I not reioyce that she shall dwell in my house?

**Tib. Talk.** So firrha, nowe this geare beginneth for to frame.

**M. Mumbl.** Thanks to God, though your work stand stil, your tong is not lame

**Tib. Talk.** And though your teeth be gone, both so sharpe and so fine

Yet your tongue can renne on patins as well as mine.

**M. Mumbl.** Ye were not for nought named Tyb Talke apace.

**Tib. Talk.** Doth my talke grieue you? Alack, God faue your grace.

**M. Mumbl.** I holde a grote ye will drinke anon for this geare.

**Tib. Talk.** And I wyll pray you the stripes for me to beare.

**M. Mumbl.** I holde a penny, ye will drink without a cup. [all vp.

**Tib. Talk.** Wherein so ere ye drinke, I wote ye drinke

**An. Alyface.** By Cock and well sowed, my good Tibet Talke apace.

**Tib. Talk.** And een as well knitte my nowne Annot Alyface.

**R. Royster.** See what a fort she kepeth that must be my wife.

Shall not I when I haue hir, leade a merrie life?

**Tib. Talk.** Welcome my good wenche, and fitte here by me iust.

**An. Alyface.** And howe doth our old beldame here, Mage Mumblecruft?

**Tib. Talk.** Chyde, and finde faultes, and threaten to complaine.

**An. Alyface.** To make vs poore girles shent to hir is small gaine.

**M. Mumbl.** I dyd neyther chyde, nor complaine, nor threaten.

**R. Royster.** It woulde grieue my heart to see one of them beaten.

**M. Mumbl.** I dyd nothyng but byd hir worke and holde hir peace.

**Tib. Talk.** So would I, if you coulde your clattering ceasse :

But the deuill can not make olde trotte holde hir tong.

**An. Alyface.** Let all these matters passe, and we three sing a song,

So shall we pleasantly bothe the tyme beguile now,  
And eke dispatche all our workes ere we can tell how.

**Tib. Talk.** I shrew them that say nay, and that shall not be I.

**M. Mumbl.** And I am well content.

**Tib. Talk.** Sing on then by and by.

**R. Royster.** And I will not away, but listen to their long,

Yet Merygreeke and my folkes tary very long.

## *Roister Doister.*

**Tib, An, and Margerie, doe singe here.**

Pipe mery Annot. etc.

Trilla, Trilla. Trillarie.

Worke Tibet, worke Annot, worke Margerie.

Sewe Tibet, knitte Annot, spinne Margerie.

Let vs see who shall winne the victorie.

**Tib. Talk.** This fleue is not willyng to be sewed I  
 trowe, [throwe.  
 A small thing might make me all in the grounde to

*Then they sing agayne.*

Pipe merrie Annot. etc.

Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.

What Tibet, what Annot, what Margerie.

Ye sleepe, but we doe not, that shall we trie.

Your fingers be nombde, our worke will not lie.

**Tib. Talk.** If ye doe so againe, well I would aduite  
 you nay.

In good footh one stoppe more, and I make holy day.

*They singe the thirde tyme.*

Pipe Mery Annot. etc.

Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.

Nowe Tibbet, now Annot, nowe Margerie.

Nowe whippet apace for the maystrie,

But it will not be, our mouth is so drie.

**Tib. Talk.** Ah, eche finger is a thombe to day me  
 thinke,

I care not to let all alone, choofe it swimme or finke.

*They sing the fourth tyme.*

Pipe Mery Annot. etc.

Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.

When Tibet, when Annot, when Margerie.

I will not, I can not, no more can I. *Lette hir caste*

Then giue we all ouer, and there let it lye. *downe hir*  
*uorke.*

**Tib. Talk.** There it lieth, the worste is but a curried  
 cote,



Tut I am vsed therto, I care not a grote.

*An. Alyfate.* Haue we done singyng since? then will I in againe,

Here I founde you, and here I leaue both twaine. *Exeat.*

*M. Mumbl.* And I will not be long after: Tib Talke apace.

*Tib. Talk.* What is ye matter?

*M. Mumb.* Yond stode a man al this space And hath hearde all that euer we spake togyther.

*Tib. Talk.* Mary the more loute he for his comming hither.

And the lesse good he can to listen maidens talke.

I care not and I go byd him hence for to walke:

It were well done to knowe what he maketh here away.

*R. Royster.* Nowe myght I speake to them, if I wist what to say. [he is.

*M. Mumbl.* Nay we will go both off, and see what

*R. Royster.* One that hath hearde all your talke and singyng ywis.

*Tib. Talk.* The more to blame you, a good thriftie husbande [hande.

Woulde elsewhere haue had some better matters in

*R. Royster.* I dyd it for no harme, but for good loue I beare, [heare.

To your dame mistresse Custance, I did your talke And Mistresse nource I will kisse you for acquaintance.

*M. Mumbl.* I come anon sir.

*Tib. Talk.* Faith I would our dame Custance Sawe this geare.

*M. Mumbl.* I must first wipe al cleane, yea I must.

*Tib. Talk.* Ill chieue it dotyng foole, but it must be cust.

*M. Mumbl.* God yelde you sir, chad not so much ichotte not whan,

Nere since chwas bore chwine, of such a gay gentleman.

*R. Royster.* I will kisse you too mayden for the good will I beare you.

*Tib. Talk.* No forsoth, by your leaue ye shall not kisse me.

*Roister Doister.*

**R. Royster.** Yes be not afearde, I doe not disdayne you a whit.

**Tib. Talk.** Why shoulde I feare you? I haue not so little wit,

Ye are but a man I knowe very well.

**R. Royster.** Why then?

**Tib. Talk.** Forsooth for I wyll not, I vse not to kisse men.

**R. Royster.** I would faine kisse you too good maiden, if I myght.

**Tib. Talk.** What shold that neede?

**R. Royster.** But to honor you by this light.

I vse to kisse all them that I loue to God I vowe.

**Tib. Talk.** Yea sir? I pray you when dyd ye last kisse your cowe.

**R. Royster.** Ye might be proude to kisse me, if ye were wise.

**Tib. Talk.** What promotion were therein?

**R. Royster.** Nourse is not so nice.

**Tib. Talk.** Well I haue not bene taught to kissing and licking.

**R. Royster.** Yet I thanke you mistresse Nourse, ye made no flicking.

**M. Mumbl.** I will not sticke for a kosse with such a man as you.

**Tib. Talk.** They that lust: I will againe to my sewyng now.

**An. Alyfacc[e].** Tidings hough, tidings, dame Custance greeteth you well.

**R. Royster.** Whome me?

**An. Alyfacc.** You sir? no sir? I do no suche tale tell.

**R. Royster.** But and she knewe me here.

**An. Alyfacc.** Tybet Talke apace,  
Your mistresse Custance and mine, must speake with your grace.

**Tib. Talk.** With me?

**An. Alyfacc.** Ye muste come in to hir out of all doutes.

**Tib. Talk.** And my work not half done? A mischief on all loutes. *Ex. am.*

**R. Royster.** Ah good sweet nurse.

**M. Mumb.** A good sweete gentleman.

**R. Royster.** What?

**M. Mumb.** Nay I can not tel fir, but what thing would you?

**R. Royster.** Howe dothe sweete Custance, my heart of gold, tell me how?

**M. Mumb.** She dothe very well fir, and commaunde me to you.

**R. Royster.** To me?

**M. Mumb.** Yea to you fir.

**R. Royster.** To me? nurse tel me plain

To me?

**M. Mumb.** Ye.

**R. Royster.** That word maketh me aliue again.

**M. Mumb.** She commaunde me to one last day who ere it was.

**R. Royster.** That was een to me and none other by the Masse.

**M. Mumb.** I can not tell you surely, but one it was.

**R. Royster.** It was I and none other: this commeth to good passe.

I promise thee nurse I fauour hir.

**M. Mumb.** Een so fir.

**R. Royster.** Bid hir sue to me for mariage.

**M. Mumb.** Een so fir.

**R. Royster.** And surely for thy sake she shall speede.

**M. Mumb.** Een so fir.

**R. Royster.** I shall be contented to take hir.

**M. Mumb.** Een so fir.

**R. Royster.** But at thy request and for thy sake.

**M. Mumb.** Een so fir.

**R. Royster.** And come hearke in thine eare what to say.

**M. Mumb.** Een so fir.

*Here lette him  
tell hir a great  
long tale in  
hir eare.*

## Actus. j. Scæna. iiij.

Mathew Merygreeke. Dobinet Doughtie. Harpax.  
Ralph Royster. Margerie Mumblecrust.

M. Mery.



Come on firs apace, and quite  
your felues like men,  
Your pains shalbe rewarded.

D. Dou. But I wot not  
when.

M. Mery. Do your maister worship as ye haue  
done in time past. [haue a cast.]

D. Dough. Speake to them : of mine office he shall

M. Mery. Harpax, looke that thou doe well too,  
and thy fellow.

Harpax. I warrant, if he will myne example folowe.

M. Mery. Curtsie whooresons, douke you and  
crouche at euery worde, [borde.]

D. Dough. Yes whether our maister speake earnest or

M. Mery. For this lieth vpon his preferment in  
deede. [speede.]

D. Dough. Oft is hee a wower, but neuer doth he

M. Mery. But with whome is he nowe so sadly  
roundyng yond?

D. Dough. With *Nobs nicebecetur miserere* fonde.

[M.] Mery. God be at your wedding, be ye spedde  
alredie?

I did not suppose that your loue was so greedie,  
I perceiue nowe ye haue chose of deuotion,  
And ioy haue ye ladie of your promotion.

R. Royster. Tushe foole, thou art deceiued, this is  
not she. [well I vise ye.]

M. Mery. Well mocke muche of hir, and keepe hir  
I will take no charge of such a faire piece keeping.

M. Mumb. What ayleth thys fellowe? he driueth  
me to weeping. [merrie woman,]

M. Mery. What weepe on the weddyng day? be  
Though I say it, ye haue chose a good gentleman.

R. Royster. Kocks nownes what meanest thou man,  
tut a whistle.

[M. Mery.] Ah fir, be good to hir, she is but a  
Ah sweete lambe and coney. [gristle,

R. Royster. Tut thou art deceiued. [receiued.

M. Mery. Weepe no more lady, ye shall be well  
Vp wyth some mery noyse firs, to bring home the bride.

R. Royster. Gogs armes knaue, art thou madde?  
I tel thee thou art wide. [home brought.

M. Mery. Then ye entende by nyght to haue hir

R. Royster. I tel thee no.

M. Mery. How then?

R. Royster. Tis neither ment ne thought.

M. Mery. What shall we then doe with hir?

R. Royster. Ah foolish harebraine,  
This is not she.

M. Mery. No is? why then vnsayde againe,  
And what yong girle is this with your mashyp so bolde?

R. Royster. A girle? [yere old.

M. Mery. Yea. I dare say, scarce yet three score

R. Royster. This fame is the faire widowes nurse  
of whome ye wotte. [home olde trotte,

M. Mery. Is she but a nurse of a house? hence  
Hence at once.

R. Royster. No, no.

M. Mery. What an please your maship  
A nurse talke so homely with one of your worship?

R. Royster. I will haue it so: it is my pleasure and will.

M. Mery. Then I am content. Nurse come  
again, tarry still.

R. Royster. What, she will helpe forward this my  
sute for hir part. [ing on my hart.

M. Mery. Then ist mine owne pygs nie, and bless-

R. Royster. This is our best friend man.

M. Mery. Then teach hir what to say

M. Mumb. I am taught already.

M. Mery. Then go, make no delay.

R. Royster. Yet hark one word in thine eare.

M. Mery. Backe firs from his taile. [counsaile?

R. Royster. Backe vilaynes, will ye be priuie of my

M. Mery. Backe firs, so: I tolde you afore ye  
woulde be shent.

## Roister Doister.

**R. Royster.** She shall haue the first day a whole pecke of argent.

**M. Mumbl.** A pecke? *Nomine patris*, haue ye so much spare? [were it bare,

**R. Royster.** Yea and a carte lode therto, or else Besides other mouables, housholde stuffe and lande.

**M. Mumbl.** Haue ye lands too.

**R. Royster.** An hundred marks.

**M. Mery.** Yea a thousand

**M. Mumbl.** And haue ye cattell too? and sheepe too?

**R. Royster.** Yea a fewe. [shewe.

**M. Mery.** He is ashamed the numbre of them to Een rounde about him, as many thousande sheepe goes, As he and thou and I too, haue fingers and toes.

**M. Mumbl.** And how many yeares olde be you?

**R. Royster.** Fortie at left.

**M. Mery.** Yea and thrice fortie to them.

**R. Royster.** Nay now thou dost iest.

I am not so olde, thou misreckonest my yeares.

**M. Mery.** I know that: but my minde was on bullockes and fleeres.

**M. Mumbl.** And what shall I shewe hir your masterships name is? [that ywis.

**R. Royster.** Nay she shall make sute ere she know

**M. Mumbl.** Yet let me somewhat knowe.

**M. Mery.** This is hee vnderstand,

That killed the blewe Spider in Blanchepouder lande.

**M. Mumbl.** Yea *Iesus*, William zee law, dyd he zo law?

**M. Mery.** Yea and the last Elephant that euer he sawe, As the beast passed by, he start out of a buske, And een with pure strength of armes pluckt out his great tuske. [that?

**M. Mumbl.** *Iesus, nomine patris*, what a thing was

**R. Roister.** Yea but Merygreke one thing thou

**M. Mery.** What? [hast forgot.

**R. Royster.** Of thother Elephant.

**M. Mery.** Oh hym that fledde away.

**R. Royster.** Yea. [that day

**M. Mery.** Yea he knew that his match was in place Tut, he bet the king of Crickets on Christmasse day,

That he crept in a hole, and not a worde to say.

**M. Mumbl.** A fore man by zembletee.

**M. Mery.** Why, he wrong a club  
Once in a fray out of the hande of Belzebub.

**R. Royster.** And how when Mumfision ?

**M. Mery.** Oh your coustrelyng  
Bore the lanterne a fielde so before the gozelyng.  
Nay that is to long a matter now to be tolde :  
Neuer aske his name Nurse, I warrant thee, be bolde,  
He conquered in one day from *Rome*, to *Naples*;  
And woonne Townes nurse as fast as thou canst make  
Apples. [he is to fore.

**M. Mumbl.** O Lorde, my heart quaketh for feare :

**R. Royster.** Thou makest hir to much afearde,  
Merygreeke no more.

This tale woulde feare my sweete heart Cufiance right  
euill. [not the deuill.

**M. Mery.** Nay let hir take him Nurse, and feare  
But thus is our song dasht. Sirs ye may home againe.

**R. Royster.** No shall they not. I charge you all  
here to remaine :

The villaine flaues a whole day ere they can be founde.

**M. Mery.** Couche on your marybones whoorefons,  
down to the ground.

Was it meete he should tarie so long in one place  
Without harmonie of Musike, or some solace ?

Who so hath suche bees as your maister in hys head,  
Had neede to haue his spirites with Musike to be fed.

By your maisterhips licence.

**R. Royster.** What is that ? a moate ? [your coate.

**M. Mery.** No it was a fooles feather had light on

**R. Royster.** I was nigh no feathers since I came  
from my bed. [your hed.

**M. Mery.** No sir, it was a haire that was fall from

**R. Royster.** My men com when it plese them.

**M. Mery.** By your leue.

**R. Royster.** What is that ? [foot of a gnat.

**M. Mery.** Your gown was foule spotted with the

**R. Royster.** Their maister to offende they are no-  
What now ? [thing afearde.

*Roister Doister.*

**M. Mery.** A lousy haire from your masterhips beard. [one offence.]

*Omnes famulæ.* And sir for Nurfes fake pardon this We shall not after this shew the like negligence.

**R. Royster.** I pardon you this once, and come sing nere the wurfe. [tleman nurse?]

**M. Mery.** How like you the goodnesse of this gen-

**M. Mumbl.** God saue his maistership that so can his men forgeue,

And I wyll heare them sing ere I go, by his leaue.

**R. Royster.** Mary and thou shalt wenche, come we two will daunce. [song perchaunce.]

**M. Mumbl.** Nay I will by myne owne selfe foote the

**R. Royster.** Go to it firs lustily.

**M. Mumbl.** Pipe vp a mery note,

Let me heare it playde, I will foote it for a grote.

*Cantent.* [mistresse.]

**R. Royster.** Now nurse take thys same letter here to thy And as my trust is in thee plie my businesse.

**M. Mumbl.** It shalbe done?

**M. Mery.** Who made it?

**R. Royster.** I wrote it ech whit.

**M. Mery.** Then nedes it no mending.

**R. Royster.** No, no.

**M. Mery.** No I know your wit.

I warrant it wel.

**M. Mumbl.** It shal be deliuered.

But if ye speede, shall I be considered?

**M. Mery.** Whough, dost thou doubt of that?

**Madge.** What shal I haue? [deuise to craue.]

**M. Mery.** An hundred times more than thou canst

**M. Mumbl.** Shall I haue some newe geare? for my olde is all spent. [ladies rayment.]

**M. Mery.** The worst kitchen wench shall goe in

**M. Mumbl.** Yea? [go better]

**M. Mery.** And the worst drudge in the house shal Than your mistresse doth now.

**Mar.** Then I trudge with your letter. [mine owne.]

**R. Royster.** Now may I repose me: Custance is Let vs sing and play homeward that it may be knowne.



**M. Mery.** But are you sure, that your letter is well

**R. Royster.** I wrote it my selfe. [enough?

**M. Mery.** Then sing we to dinner.

*Here they sing, and go out singing.*

## Actus. j. Scæna. v.

**Christian Custance. Margerie Mumblecrust.**

**C. Custance.**



Io tooke thee thys letter  
Margerie Mumblecrust?

**M. Mumbl.** A lustie gay  
bachelor tooke it me of  
trust,

And if ye seeke to him he will lowe your doing.

**C. Custance.** Yea, but where learned he that man-  
ner of wowing? [take,

**M. Mumbl.** If to sue to hym, you will any paines  
He will haue you to his wife (he sayth) for my sake.

**C. Custance.** Some wise gentleman belike. I am  
bespoken :

And I thought verily thys had bene some token [please  
From my dere spouse Gawin Goodluck, whom when him  
God luckily sende home to both our heartes ease.

**M. Mumbl.** A ioyly man it is I wote well by report,  
And would haue you to him for marriage resort :  
Best open the writing, and see what it doth speake.

**C. Custance.** At thys time nurse I will neither  
reade ne breake.

**M. Mumbl.** He promised to giue you a whole  
pecke of golde. [shall be all tolde.

**C. Custance.** Perchaunce lacke of a pynte when it

**M. Mumbl.** I would take a gay riche husbände,  
and I were you. [if I were thou.

**C. Custance.** In good sooth Madge, een so would I,  
But no more of this fond talke now, let vs go in,  
And see thou no more moue me folly to begin.  
Nor bring mee no mo letters for no mans pleasure,  
But thou know from whom.

**M. Mumbl.** I warrant ye shall be sure.

## Actus. ij. Scæna. j.

Dobinet Doughtie.

D. Dough.



Here is the house I goe  
to, before or behinde?  
I know not where nor  
when nor how I shal  
it finde.

If I had ten mens bodies  
and legs and strength,  
This trotting that I haue

must needes lame me at length.

And nowe that my maister is new set on wowyng,  
I trust there shall none of vs finde lacke of doying:  
Two paire of shoes a day will nowe be too litle  
To serue me, I must trotte to and fro so mickle.  
Go beare me thys token, carrie me this letter,  
Nowe this is the best way, nowe that way is better.  
Vp before day sirs, I charge you, an houre or twaine,  
Trudge, do me thys message, and bring worde quicke  
again,

If one misse but a minute, then his armes and woundes,  
I woulde not haue slacked for ten thousand poundes.  
Nay see I beseeche you, if my most trustie page,  
Goe not nowe aboute to hinder my mariage,  
So feruent hotte wowyng, and so farre from wiuing,  
I trowe neuer was any creature liuyng,  
With euery woman is he in some loues pang,  
Then vp to our lute at midnight, twangledome twang,  
Then twang with our sonets, and twang with our dumps,  
And heyhough from our heart, as heauie as lead lumpes:  
Then to our recorder with toodleoodle poepe  
As the howlet out of an yuie bushe should hoope.  
Anon to our gitterne, thrumpledum, thrumpledum thrum,  
Thrumpledum, thrumpledum, thrumpledum, thrumple-  
Of Songs and Balades also he is a maker, [dum thrum.  
And that can he as finely doe as Iacke Raker,  
Yea and *extempore* will he dities compose,

Foolishe *Marfias* nere made the like I suppose,  
 Yet must we sing them, as good stuffe I vndertake,  
 As for such a pen man is well fittyng to make.  
 Ah for these long nights, heyhow, when will it be day?  
 I feare ere I come she will be wowed away.  
 Then when aunswere is made that it may not bee,  
 O death why comcest thou not? by and by (sayth he)  
 But then, from his heart to put away sorowe,  
 He is as farre in with some newe loue next morowe.  
 But in the meane season we trudge and we trot,  
 From dayspring to midnyght, I sit not, nor rest not.  
 And now am I sent to dame Christian Custance:  
 But I feare it will ende with a mocke for pastance.  
 I bring hir a ring, with a token in a cloute,  
 And by all gesse, this same is hir house out of doute.  
 I knowe it nowe perfect, I am in my right way.  
 And loe yond the olde nurse that was wyth vs last day.

## Actus. ij. Scæna. ij.

*Mage Mumblecrust. Dobinet Doughtie.*

*M. Mumb.*



Was nere so shoke vp afore  
 since I was borne,  
 That our mistresse coulde  
 not haue chid I wold  
 haue sworne :

And I pray God I die if I ment any harme,  
 But for my life time this shall be to me a charme.

*D. Dough.* God you saue and see nurse, and howe  
 is it with you? [suche as thou.

*M. Mumb.* Mary a great deale the worse it is for

*D. Dough.* For me? Why so?

*M. Mumb.* Why wer not thou one of them, say,  
 That song and playde here with the gentleman last  
 day? [him spoken.

*D. Dough.* Yes, and he would know if you haue for  
 And prayes you to deliuer this ring and token. [brother,

*M. Mumb.* Nowe by the token that God tokened

I will deliuer no token one nor other.  
I haue once ben so shent for your maisters pleasure,  
As I will not be agayne for all hys treasure.

**D. Dough.** He will thank you woman.

**M. Mumbl.** I will none of his thanke. *Ex.*

**D. Dough.** I weene I am a prophete, this geare will  
proue blanke :

But what should I home againe without answere go?  
It were better go to *Rome* on my head than so.  
I will tary here this moneth, but some of the house  
Shall take it of me, and then I care not a louse.  
But yonder commeth forth a wenche or a ladde,  
If he haue not one Lumbardes touche, my lucke is bad.

## Actus. ij. Scæna. iij.

Trupeny. **D. Dough.** Tibet T. Anot Al.

Trupeny.



Am cleane lost for lacke of  
mery companie,  
We gree not halfe well within,  
our wenches and I,  
They will commaunde like  
mistresses, they will forbyd,

If they be not serued, Trupeny must be chyd.  
Let them be as mery nowe as ye can desire,  
With turnyng of a hande, our mirth lieth in the mire,  
I can not skill of such chaungeable mettle,  
There is nothing with them but in docke out nettle.

**D. Dough.** Whether is it better that I speake to him  
Or he first to me, it is good to cast the wurst. [furst,  
If I beginne first, he will smell all my purpose,  
Otherwise I shall not neede any thing to disclose.

**Trupeny.** What boy haue we yonder? I will see  
what he is. [ywis.

**D. Dough.** He commeth to me. It is hereabout

**Trupeny.** Wouldest thou ought friende, that thou  
lookest so about? [no, I dout.

**D. Dough.** Yea, but whether ye can helpe me or

I seeke to one mistresse Custance house here dwellyng.

*Trupenie.* It is my mistresse ye seeke too by your telling.

*D. Dough.* Is there any of that name heere but shee?

*Trupenie.* Not one in all the whole towne that I knowe pardee.

*D. Dough.* A Widowe she is I trow.

*Trupenie.* And what and she be?

*D. Dough.* But ensured to an husbände.

*Trupenie.* Yea, so thinke we.

*D. Dough.* And I dwell with hir husbände that trusteth to be.

*Trupenie.* In faith then must thou needes be welcome to me,

Let vs for acquaintance shake handes together,  
And what ere thou be, heartily welcome hither.

*Tib. Talk.* Well Trupenie neuer but flinging.

*An. Alyface.* And frisking? [and whiskeyng?

*Trupenie.* Well Tibet and Annot, still swingyng

*Tib. Talk.* But ye roile abroad.

*An. Alyface.* In the streete euere where.

*Trupenie.* Where are ye twaine, in chambers when ye mete me there?

But come hither fooles, I haue one nowe by the hande,  
Seruant to hym that must be our mistresse husbände,  
Byd him welcome.

*An. Alyface.* To me truly is he welcome. [come.

*Tib. Talk.* Forsooth and as I may say, heartily wel-

*D. Dough.* I thank you mistresse maides

*An. Alyface.* I hope we shal better know

*Tib. Talk.* And when wil our new master come.

*D. Dough.* Shortly I trow. [reforte

*Tib. Talk.* I would it were to morow: for till he

Our mistresse being a Widow hath small comferte,  
And I hearde our nourse speake of an husbände to day  
Ready for our mistresse, a riche man and a gay,  
And we shall go in our frenche hoodes euery day,  
In our silke cassocks (I warrant you) freshe and gay,  
In our tricke ferdegews and billiments of golde,  
Braue in our futes of change seuen double folde,  
Then shall ye see Tibet firs, trade the mosse so trimme,

Nay, why sayd I treate? ye shall see hir glide and swimme,

Not lumperde clumperdee like our spaniell Rig. [fig, Trupeny. Mary then prickmedaintie come toste me a Who shall then know our Tib Talke apace trow ye?

An. Alyface. And why not Annot Alyface as fyne as she? [none?

Trupeny. And what had Tom Trupeny, a father or

An. Alyface. Then our prety newe come man will looke to be one. [knot.

Trupeny. We foure I trust shall be a ioily mery Shall we sing a fitte to welcome our friende, Annot?

An. Alyface. Perchaunce he can not sing.

D. Dough. I am at all assayes. [alwayes.

Tib. Talk. By cocke and the better welcome to vs

*Here they sing.*

A thing very fitte	No man for despite,
For them that haue witte,	By worde or by write
And are felowes knitte	His felowe to twite,
Seruants in one house to bee,	But further in honestie,
Is fast fast for to fitte,	No good turnes entwite,
And not oft to flitte,	Nor olde fores recite,
Nor varie a whitte,	But let all goe quite,
But louingly to agree.	And louingly to agree.

No man complainyng,	After drudgerie,
Nor other disdayning,	When they be werie,
For losse or for gainyng,	Then to be merie, [free
But felowes or friends to bee.	To laugh and sing they be
No grudge remainyng,	With chip and cherie
No woike refrainyng,	Heigh derie derie,
Nor helpe refrainyng,	Trill on the berie,
But louingly to agree.	And louingly to agree.

*Finis.*

Tib. Talk. Wyll you now in with vs vnto our mistresse go? [two.

D. Dough. I haue first for my maister an errand or But I haue here from him a token and a ring, [bring. They shall haue moste thanke of hir that first doth it

Tib. Talk. Mary that will I.

Trupeny. See and Tibet snatch not now.

Tib. Talk. And why may not I sir, get thanks as well as you? *Exeat.* [you both.


An. Alyface. Yet get ye not all, we will go with And haue part of your thanks be ye neuer so loth. [*Exeant omnes.*

B. Dough. So my handes are ridde of it : I care for no more.

I may now return home : so durst I not afore. *Exeat.*

## Actus. ij. Scæna. iiij.

C. Custance. Tibet. Annot Alyface. Trupeny.

C. Custance.  Ay come forth all three : and come hither pretie mayde :

Will not so many forewarnings make you afrayde?

Tib. Talk. Yes forsoth.

C. Custance. But stil be a runner vp and downe Still be a bringer of tidings and tokens to towne.

Tib. Talk. No forsoth mistresse.

C. Custance. Is all your delite and ioy In whiskyng and ramping abroad like a Tom boy.

Tib. Talk. Forsoth these were there too, Annot and Trupenie. [denie.

Trupenie. Yea but ye alone tooke it, ye can not Annot Aly. Yea that ye did.

Tibet. But if I had not, ye twaine would.

C. Custance. You great calfe ye should haue more witte, so ye should :

But why shoulde any of you take such things in hande?

Tibet. Because it came from him that must be your

C. Custance. How do ye know that? [husbande.

Tibet. Forsoth the boy did say so.

C. Custance. What was his name?

An. Alyface. We asked not.

C. Custance. No did?

An. Aliface. He is not farre gone of likelyhod.

Trupeny. I will see. [bring him to me.

C. Custance. If thou canst finde him in the streete

Trupenie. Yes. *Exeat.*

C. Custance. Well ye naughty girles, if euer I perceiue  
That henceforth you do letters or tokens receiue,  
To bring vnto me from any person or place,  
Except ye first shewe me the partie face to face,  
Eyther thou or thou, full truly abyethou shalt.

Tibet. Pardon this, and the next tyme poudere me  
in salt. [to beware.

C. Custance. I shall make all girles by you twaine

Tibet. If euer I offende againe do not me spare.

But if euer I see that false boy any more  
By your mistreshyps licence I tell you afore  
I will rather haue my cote twentie times swinged,  
Than on the naughtie wag not to be auenged.

C. Custance. Good wenches would not so rampè  
abrode ydelly,  
But keepe within doores, and plie their work earnestly,  
If one would speake with me that is a man likely,  
Ye shall haue right good thanke to bring me worde  
But otherwyse with messages to come in post [quickly.  
From henceforth I promise you, shall be to your cost.  
Get you in to your work.

Tib. An. Yes forsoth.

C. Custance. Hence both twaine.

And let me see you play me such a part againe.

Trupeny. Maistresse, I haue runne past the farre  
ende of the streete,

Yet can I not yonder craftie boy see nor meete.

C. Custance. No?

Trupeny. Yet I looked as farre beyonde the people.  
As one may see out of the toppe of Pauls steeple.

C. Custance. Hence in at doores, and let me no  
more be vext. [the next.

Trupeny. Forgeue me this one fault, and lay on for

C. Custance. Now will I in too, for I thinke so God  
me mende,

This will proue some foolishe matter in the ende. *Exeat.*



Actus. [i]ij. Scæna. j.

Mathewe Merygreeke.

M. Mery.



Owe say thys againe:  
 he hath somewhat  
 to dooing  
 Which followeth the  
 trace of one that  
 is wowing,  
 Specially that hath no  
 more wit in his  
 hedde,

Than my cousin Roister Doister withall is ledde.  
 I am sent in all haste to espie and to marke  
 How our letters and tokens are likely to warke.  
 Maister Roister Doister must haue aunswere in haste  
 For he loueth not to spende much labour in waste.  
 Nowe as for Christian Custance by this light,  
 Though she had not hir trowth to Gawin Goodluck plight,  
 Yet rather than with such a loutishe dolte to marie,  
 I dare say woulde lyue a poore lyfe solitarie,  
 But fayne would I speake with Custance if I wist how  
 To laugh at the matter, yond commeth one forth now.

Actus. iij. Scæna. ij.

Tibet. M. Merygreeke. Christian Custance.

Tib. Talk.



H that I might but once in  
 my life haue a fight  
 Of him that made vs all so  
 yll shent by this light,  
 He should neuer escape if I  
 had him by the eare,

But euen from his head, I would it bite or teare.  
 Yea and if one of them were not inowe,

I would bite them both off, I make God auow.

**M. Mery.** What is he, whome this little moufe doth so threaten?

**Tib. Talk.** I woulde teache him I trow, to make girles shent or beaten.

**M. Mery.** I will call hir: Maide with whome are ye so hastie? [pastie,

**Tib. Talk.** Not with you 'fir, but with a little wag-  
A deceiuer of folkes, by subtill craft and guile.

**M. Mery.** I knowe where she is: Dobinet hath wrought some wile. [fayd was sent

**Tib. Talk.** He brought a ring and token which he  
From our dames husbände, but I wot well I was shent:  
For it liked hir as well to tell you no lies,  
As water in hir shyppe, or salt cast in hir eies:  
And yet whence it came neyther we nor she can tell.

**M. Mery.** We shall haue sport anone: I like this very well.

And dwell ye here with mistresse Custance faire maide?

**Tib. Talk.** Yea mary doe I fir: what would ye haue sayd?

**M. Mery.** A little message vnto hir by worde of mouth. [forsoth.

**Tib. Talk.** No messages by your leaue, nor tokens

**M. Mery.** Then help me to speke with hir.

**Tibet.** With a good wil that.

Here she commeth forth. Now speake ye know best what.

**C. Custance.** None other life with you maide, but  
abrode to skip? [your mistresship.

**Tib. Talk.** Forsoth here is one would speake with

**C. Custance.** Ah, haue ye ben learning of mo mes-  
sages now?

**Tib. Talk.** I would not heare his minde, but bad  
him shewe it to you.

**C. Custance.** In at dores.

**Tib. Talk.** I am gon.

*Ex.*

**M. Mery.** Dame Custance god ye faue.

**C. Custance.** Welcome friend Merygreeke: and  
what thing wold ye haue? [breake.

**M. Mery.** I am come to you a little matter to

**C. Custance.** But see it be honest, else better not to  
speake. [of late ?]

**M. Mery.** Howe feele ye your selfe affected here

**C. Custance.** I feele no maner chaunge but after  
But wherby do ye meane ? [the olde rate.

**M. Mery.** Concerning mariage.  
Doth not loue lade you ?

**C. Custance.** I feele no such cariage.

**M. Mery.** Doe ye feele no pangues of dotage ?  
aunswere me right. [the night

**C. Custance.** I dote so, that I make but one sleepe all  
But what neede all these wordes ?

**M. Mery.** Oh Iesus, will ye see  
What dissemblyng creatures these same women be ?  
The gentleman ye wote of, whome ye doe so loue,  
That ye woulde fayne marrie him, yf ye durst it moue,  
Emong other riche widowes, which are of him glad,  
Lest ye for lesing of him perchaunce might runne mad,  
Is nowe contented that vpon your sute making,  
Ye be as one in election of taking.

**C. Custance.** What a tale is this ? that I wote of ?  
whome I loue ?

**M. Mery.** Yea and he is as louing a worme againe  
as a doue.

Een of very pitie he is willyng you to take,  
Bicause ye shall not destroy your selfe for his sake.

**C. Custance.** Mary God yelde his mashyp what euer  
It is gentmanly spoken. [he be,

**M. Mery.** Is it not trowe ye ?  
If ye haue the grace now to offer your self, ye speede.

**C. Custance.** As muche as though I did, this time  
it shall not neede,

But what gentman is it, I pray you tell me plaine,  
That woweth so finely ?

**M. Mery.** Lo where ye be againe,  
As though ye knewe him not.

**C. Custance.** Tush ye speake in iest.

**M. Mery.** Nay sure, the partie is in good knocking  
earnest,

*Roister Doister.*

And haue you he will (he sayth) and haue you he must.

**C. Custance.** I am promised duryng my life, that is iust.

**M. Mery.** Mary so thinketh he, vnto him alone.

**C. Custance.** No creature hath my faith and trowth  
but one,

That is Gawin Goodlucke : and if it be not hee,

He hath no tittle this way what euer he be,

Nor I know none to whome I haue such worde spoken.

**M. Mery.** Ye knowe him not you by his letter and  
token.

**C. Custance.** In dede true it is, that a letter I haue,  
But I neuer reade it yet as God me faue.

**M. Mery.** Ye a woman? and your letter so long  
vnredde.

**C. Custance.** Ye may therby know what hast I haue  
to wedde.

But now who it is, for my hande I knowe by gesse.

**M. Mery.** Ah well I say.

**C. Custance.** It is Roister Doister doubtlesse.

**M. Mery.** Will ye neuer leaue this diffimulation?  
Ye know hym not.

**C. Custance.** But by imagination,  
For no man there is but a very dolt and loute  
That to wowe a Widowe woulde so go about.  
He shall neuer haue me hys wife while he doe liue.

**M. Mery.** Then will he haue you if he may, so  
mote I thriue,

And he biddeth you fende him worde by me,  
That ye humbly beseech him, ye may his wife be,  
And that there shall be no let in you nor mistrust,  
But to be wedded on funday next if he lust,  
And biddeth you to looke for him.

**C. Custance.** Doth he byd so?

**M. Mery.** When he commeth, aske hym whether  
he did or no?

**C. Custance.** Goe say, that I bid him keepe him  
warne at home

For if he come abroade, he shall cough me a mome.

My mynde was vexed, I shrew his head fottish dolt.

**M. Mery.** He hath in his head.

C. Custance. As much braine as a burbolt.

M. Mery. Well dame Custance, if he heare you thus

C. Custance. What will he? [play choploge.

M. Mery. Play the deuill in the horologe.

C. Custance. I defye him loute.

M. Mery. Shall I tell hym what ye say?

C. Custance. Yea and adde what so euer thou canst,  
I thee pray,

And I will auouche it what so euer it bee.

M. Mery. Then let me alone we will laugh well  
ye shall see,

It will not be long ere he will hither resort.

C. Custance. Let hym come when hym lust, I wishe  
no better sport.

Fare ye well, I will in, and read my great letter.

I shall to my wower make answere the better. *Exeat.*

## Actus. iij. Scæna. iij.

Mathew Merygreeke. Roister Doister.

M. Mery.



Owe that the whole answere  
in my deuise doth rest,  
I shall paint out our wower  
in colours of the best.  
And all that I say shall be on  
Custances mouth,

She is author of all that I shall speake forsoth.

But yond commeth Roister Doister nowe in a traunce.

R. Royster. *Iuno* sende me this day good lucke and  
good chauce.

I can not but come see how Merygreeke doth speede.

M. Mery. I will not see him, but giue him a iutte  
I crie your mastershyp mercie. [in deede.

R. Royster. And whither now? [you.

M. Mery. As fast as I could runne sir in poste against  
But why speake ye so faintly, or why are ye so fad?

*Roister Doister.*

**R. Royster.** Thou knowest the prouerbe, bycause I can not be had.

Hast thou spoken with this woman ?

**M. Mery.** Yea that I haue.

**R. Royster.** And what will this geare be ?

**M. Mery.** No so God me saue.

**R. Royster.** Hast thou a flat answer ?

**M. Mery.** Nay a sharp answer.

**R. Royster.** What [hir cat.

**M. Mery.** Ye shall not (she sayth) by hir will marry

Ye are such a calfe, such an asse, such a blocke,  
Such a lilburne, such a hoball, such a lobcocke,  
And bicause ye shoulde come to hir at no season,  
She despised your maship out of all reason.

Bawawe what ye fay (ko I) of such a ientman,  
Nay I feare him not (ko she) doe the best he can.

He vaunteth him selfe for a man of prowesse greate,  
Where as a good gander I dare fay may him beate.

And where he is louted and laughed to skorne,

For the veriest dolte that euer was borne,

And veriest lubber, flouen and beast,

Liuing in this worlde from the west to the east :

Yet of himselfe hath he fuche opinion,

That in all the worlde is not the like minion.

He thinketh eche woman to be brought in dotage

With the onely sight of his goodly personage : [flocke,

Yet none that will haue hym : we do hym loute and

And make him among vs, our common sporting stocke,

And so would I now (ko she) saue onely bicause,

Better nay (ko I) I lust not medle with dawes.

Ye are happy (ko I) that ye are a woman,

This would cost you your life in case ye were a man.

**R. Royster.** Yea an hundred thousand pound should  
not saue hir life. [your wife,

**M. Mery.** No but that ye wowe hir to haue hir to  
But I coulde not stoppe hir mouth.

**R. Royster.** Heigh how alas,

**M. Mery.** Be of good cheere man, and let the  
worlde passe. [not bee.

**R. Royster.** What shall I doe or say nowe that it will

**M. Mery.** Ye shall haue choise of a thousande as good as shee,  
And ye must pardon hir, it is for lacke of witte.

**R. Royster.** Yea, for were not I an husbände for Well what should I now doe? [hir fitte?]

**M. Mery.** In faith I can not tell.

**R. Royster.** I will go home and die.

**M. Mery.** Then shall I bidde toll the bell?

**R. Royster.** No.

**M. Mery.** God haue mercie on your soule, ah good gentleman,

That er ye shuld th[us] dye for an vnkinde woman,  
Will ye drinke once ere ye goe.

**R. Roister.** No, no, I will none.

**M. Mery.** How feele your soule to God.

**R. Roister.** I am nigh gone.

**M. Mery.** And shall we hence streight?

**R. Royster.** Yea.

**M. Mery.** *Placebo dilexi.* [vt infra.\*]

Maister Doister Doister will streight go home and die.

**R. Royster.** Heigh how, alas, the pangs of death my hearte do breake.

**M. Mery.** Holde your peace for shame sir, a dead man may not speake. [haue?]

*Nequando* : What mourners and what torches shall we

**R. Royster.** None. [graue,

**M. Mery.** *Dirige.* He will go darklyng to his *Neque, lux, neque crux, neque* mourners, *neque* clinke, He will steale to heauen, vnknowing to God I thinke. *A porta inferi*, who shall your goodes possesse?

**R. Royster.** Thou shalt be my sectour, and haue all more and lesse.

**M. Mery.** *Requiem aeternam.* Now God reward your mastershyp.

And I will crie halfepenie doale for your worshyp.

Come forth sirs, heare the dolefull newes

I shall you tell.

Our good maister here will no longer with vs dwell,

*Euocat seruos militis.*

But in spite of Custance, which hath hym wried,  
 Let vs see his mashyp solemnelly buried.  
 And while some piece of his soule is yet hym within,  
 Some part of his funeralls let vs here begin. [man,  
*Audiui vocem,* All men take heede by this one gentle-  
 Howe you fette your loue vpon an vnkinde woman.  
 For these women be all such madde pieuishe elues,  
 They will not be wonne except it please them selues.  
 But in fayth Custance if euer ye come in hell,  
 Maister Roister Doister shall serue you as well.  
 And will ye needes go from vs thus in very deede?

**R. Royster.** Yea in good sadnesse?

**M. Mery.** Now Iesus Christ be your speede.

Good night Roger olde knaue, farewell Roger olde  
 knaue,

Good night Roger olde knaue, knaue knap. *vt infra.\**

Pray for the late maister Roister Doisters soule,  
 And come forth parish Clarke, let the passing bell toll.  
 Pray for your mayster sirs, and for  
 hym ring a peale. *Ad seruos mi-  
 litis.*

He was your right good maister while he was in heale.  
*Qui Lazarum.*

**R. Royster.** Heigh how.

**M. Mery.** Dead men go not so fast

*In Paradisum.*

**R. Royster.** Heihow.

**M. Mery.** Soft, heare what I haue cast

**R. Royster.** I will heare nothing, I am past.

**M. Mery.** Whough, wellaway.

Ye may tarie one houre, and heare what I shall say,  
 Ye were best sir for a while to reuiue againe,  
 And quite them er ye go.

**R. Royster.** Trowest thou so?

**M. Mery.** Ye plain.

**R. Royster.** How may I reuiue being nowe so farre  
 past?

**M. Mery.** I will rubbe your temples, and fette you  
 againe at last.

**R. Royster.** It will not be possible.



*M. Mery.* Yes for twentie pounce.

*R. Royster.* Armes what dost thou?

*M. Mery.* Fet you again out of your found  
By this crosse ye were nigh gone in deede, I might feele  
Your soule departing within an inche of your heele.  
Now folow my counsell.

*R. Royster.* What is it?

*M. Mery.* If I wer you,  
Custance should eft seeke to me, ere I woulde bowe.

*R. Royster.* Well, as thou wilt haue me, euen so  
will I doe.

*M. Mery.* Then shall ye reuiue againe for an houre  
or two.

*R. Royster.* As thou wilt I am content for a little  
space.

*M. Mery.* Good happe is not hastie : yet in space  
com[e]th grace,  
To speake with Custance your selfe shoulde be very  
well,

What good therof may come, nor I, nor you can tell.

But now the matter standeth vpon your mariage,

Ye must now take vnto you a lustie courage.

Ye may not speake with a faint heart to Custance,

But with a lusty breast and countenance,

That she may knowe she hath to answer to a man.

*R. Royster.* Yes I can do that as well as any can.

*M. Mery.* Then bicause ye must Custance face to  
face wowe,

Let vs see how to behaue your selfe ye can doe.

Ye must haue a portely bragge after your estate.

*R. Royster.* Tushe, I can handle that after the best  
rate.

*M. Mery.* Well done, so loe, vp man with your  
head and chin,

Vp with that snoute man : so loe, nowe ye begin,

So, that is fomewhat like, but prankie cote, nay whan,

That is a lustie brute, handes vnder your side man :

So loe, now is it euen as it should bee,

That is fomewhat like, for a man of your degree.

Then must ye flatly goe, ietting vp and downe,

*Roister Doister.*

Tut, can ye no better shake the taile of your gowne?  
There loe, suche a lustie bragge it is ye must make.

**R. Royster.** To come behind, and make curtsie,  
thou must som pains take.

**M. Mery.** Else were I much to blame, I thanke  
your mastershyps.

The lorde one day all to begrime you with worshyp,  
Backe fir fauce, let gentlefolkes haue elbowe roome,  
Voyde firs, see ye not maister Roister Doister come?  
Make place my maisters.

**R. Royster.** Thou iustlest nowe to nigh.

**M. Mery.** Back al rude loutes.

**R. Royster.** Tush.

**M. Mery.** I crie your maship mercy  
Hoighdagh, if faire fine mistresse Custance sawe you now,  
Ralph Royster Doister were hir owne I warrant you.

**R. Royster.** Neare an M by your girdle?

**M. Mery.** Your good mastershyps  
Maistershyps, were hir owne Mistreshyps mistreshyps,  
Ye were take vp for haukes, ye were gone, ye were gone,  
But now one other thing more yet I thinke vpon.

**R. Royster.** Shewe what it is.

**M. Mery.** A wower be he neuer so poore  
Must play and sing before his bestbeloues doore,  
How much more than you?

**R. Royster.** Thou speakest wel out of dout.

**M. Mery.** And perchaunce that woulde make hir  
the sooner come out.

**R. Royster.** Goe call my Musitians, bydde them  
high apace.

**M. Mery.** I wyll be here with them ere ye can say  
treyste. *Exeat.*

**R. Royster.** This was well sayde of Merygreeke, I  
lowe hys wit,

Before my sweete hearts dore we will haue a fit,  
That if my loue come forth, that I may with hir talke,  
I doubt not but this geare shall on my side walke.  
But lo, how well Merygreeke is returned sence.

**M. Mery.** There hath grown no grassie on my heele  
since I went hence,

Lo here haue I brought that shall make you pastance.

**R. Royster.** Come firs let vs sing to winne my deare loue Custance.

*Cantent.*

**M. Mery.** Lo where she commeth, some countenance to hir make

And ye shall heare me be plaine with hir for your sake.

Actus. iij. Scæna. iiij.

Custance. Merygreeke. Roister Doister.

**C. Custance.**



Hat gaudyng and foolyng is this afore my doore?

**M. Mery.** May not folks be honest, pray you, though they be pore?

**C. Custance.** As that thing may be true, so rich folks may be fooles,

**R. Royster.** Hir talke is as fine as she had learned in schooles.

**M. Mery.** Looke partly towarde hir, and drawe a little nere.

**C. Custance.** Get ye home idle folkes.

**M. Mery.** Why may not we be here?

Nay and ye will haze, haze: otherwise I tell you plaine, And ye will not haze, then giue vs our geare againe.

**C. Custance.** In deede I haue of yours much gay things God faue all.

**R. Royster.** Speake gently vnto hir, and let hir take all.

**M. Mery.** Ye are to tender hearted: shall she make vs dawes? [cause.

Nay dame, I will be plaine with you in my friends

**R. Royster.** Let all this passe sweete heart and accept my seruice.

**C. Custance.** I will not be serued with a foole in  
no wise,

When I choose an husbände I hope to take a man.

**M. Mery.** And where will ye finde one which can  
doe that he can?

Now thys man towarde you being so kinde, [minde.  
You not to make him an answere somewhat to his

**C. Custance.** I sent him a full answere by you dyd  
I not?

**M. Mery.** And I reported it.

**C. Custance.** Nay I must speake it againe.

**R. Royster.** No no, he tolde it all.

**M. Mery.** Was I not metely plaine?

**R. Royster.** Yes.

**M. Mery.** But I would not tell all, for faith if I had  
With you dame Custance ere this houre it had been  
bad,

And not without cause: for this goodly personage,  
Ment no lesse than to ioyne with you in mariage.

**C. Custance.** Let him wast no more labour nor fute  
about me. [lieth I see,

**M. Mery.** Ye know not where your preferment  
He sending you such a token, ring and letter.

**C. Custance.** Mary here it is, ye neuer sawe a better.

**M. Mery.** Let vs see your letter.

**C. Custance.** Holde, reade it if ye can.

And see what letter it is to winne a woman.

**M. Mery.** To mine owne deare coney birde, swete  
heart, and pigsny

Good Mistresse Custance present these by and by,  
Of this superscription do ye blame the stile?

**C. Custance.** With the rest as good stufte as ye  
redde a great while.

**M. Mery.** Sweete mistresse where as I loue you  
nothing at all,

Regarding your substance and richeffe chiefe of all,  
For your personage, beautie, demeanour and wit,  
I commende me vnto you neuer a whit.

Sorie to heare report of your good welfare.

For (as I heare say) suche your conditions are,

That ye be worthie fauour of no liuing man,  
To be abhorred of euery honest man.  
To be taken for a woman enclined to vice.  
Nothing at all to Vertue gyuing hir due price.  
Wherfore concerning mariage, ye are thought  
Suche a fine Paragon, as nere honest man bought.  
And nowe by these presentes I do you aduertise  
That I am minded to marrie you in no wise.  
For your goodes and substance, I coulde bee content  
To take you as ye are. If ye mynde to bee my wyfe,  
Ye shall be assured for the tyme of my lyfe,  
I will keepe ye ryght well, from good rayment and fare,  
Ye shall not be kepte but in sorowe and care.  
Ye shall in no wyfe lyue at your owne libertie,  
Doe and say what ye lust, ye shall neuer please me,  
But when ye are mery, I will be all sadde,  
When ye are fory, I will be very gladde.

When ye seeke your heartes ease, I will be vnkinde,  
At no tyme, in me shall ye muche gentlenessse finde.  
But all things contrary to your will and minde,  
Shall be done: otherwise I wyll not be behinde  
To speake. And as for all them that woulde do you wrong  
I will so helpe and mainteyne, ye shall not lyue long.  
Nor any foolishhe dolte, shall cumbre you but I.  
Thus good mistresse Custance, the lorde you saue and  
kepe,

From me Roister Doister, whether I wake or slepe.  
Who faouureth you no lesse, (ye may be bolde)  
Than this letter purporteth, which ye haue vnfolde.

**C. Custance.** Howe by this letter of loue? is it not  
fine? [myne.

**R. Royster.** By the armes of Caleys it is none of  
**M. Mery.** Fie you are fowle to blame this is your  
owne hand.

**C. Custance.** Might not a woman be proude of  
such an husbände?

**M. Mery.** Ah that ye would in a letter shew such  
despite.

**R. Royster.** Oh I would I had hym here, the which  
did it endite.

*Roister Doister.*

**M. Mery.** Why ye made it your selfe ye tolde me by this light.

**R. Royster.** Yea I ment I wrote it myne owne selfe yesternight.

**C. Custance.** Ywis fir, I would not haue sent you such a mocke.

**R. Royster.** Ye may so take it, but I ment it not so by cocke.

**M. Mery.** Who can blame this woman to fume and frette and rage?

Tut, tut, your selfe nowe haue marde your owne marriage.

Well, yet mistresse Custance, if ye can this remitte, This gentleman other wife may your loue requitte.

**C. Custance.** No God be with you both, and seeke no more to me. *Exeat.*

**R. Royster.** Wough, she is gone for euer, I shall hir no more see.

**M. Mery.** What weepe? fye for shame, and blubber? for manhods sake,

Neuer lette your foe so muche pleasure of you take. Rather play the mans parte, and doe loue refraine. If she despise you een despise ye hir againe.

**R. Royster.** By gosse and for thy sake I desye hir in deede.

**M. Mery.** Yea and perchaunce that way ye shall much sooner speede,

For one madde propertie these women haue in fey, When ye will, they will not: Will not ye, then will they. Ah foolishhe woman, ah moste vnluckie Custance, Ah vnfortunate woman, ah pieuishe Custance, Art thou to thine harmes so obstinately bent, That thou canst not see where lieth thine high preferment? [well?

Canst thou not lub dis man, which coulde lub dee so Art thou so much thine own foe.

**R. Royster.** Thou dost the truth tell.

**M. Mery.** Wel I lament.

**R. Royster.** So do I.

**M. Mery.** Wherfor?

**R. Royster.** For this thing  
Bicause she is gone.

**M. Mery.** I mourne for an other thing.

**R. Royster.** What is it Merygreeke, wherfore thou  
doft grieffe take?

**M. Mery.** That I am not a woman myfelfe for your  
fake,

I would haue you my felfe, and a strawe for yond Gill,  
And mocke much of you though it were againft my  
will.

I would not I warrant you, fall in fuch a rage,  
As fo to refuse fuche a goodly perfonage. [greeke.

**R. Royster.** In faith I heartily thanke thee Mery-

**M. Mery.** And I were a woman.

**R. Royster.** Thou wouldest to me seeke. [bee.

**M. Mery.** For though I say it, a goodly perfon ye

**R. Royster.** No, no.

**M. Mery.** Yes a goodly man as ere I dyd fee.

**R. Royster.** No, I am a poore homely man as God  
made mee.

**M. Mery.** By the faith that I owe to God fir, but  
ye bee.

Woulde I might for your fake, fpende a thoufande  
pound land.

**R. Royster.** I dare say thou wouldest haue me to  
thy hufbande.

**M. Mery.** Yea: And I were the faireft lady in the  
fhier,

And knewe you as I know you, and fee you nowe here.  
Well I fay no more.

**R. Royster.** Gramercies with all my hart.

**M. Mery.** But fince that can not be, will ye play a

**R. Royster.** How should I? [wife parte?

**M. Mery.** Refraine from Cufance a while now.

And I warrant hir foone right glad to feeke to you,  
Ye shall fee hir anon come on hir knees creeping,  
And pray you to be good to hir falte teares weeping.

**R. Royster.** But what and she come not?

**M. Mery.** In faith then farewell she.

Or elle if ye be wroth, ye may auenged be.

**R. Royster.** By cocks precious potsticke, and een  
so I shall.

I wyll vtterly destroy hir, and house and all,  
But I woulde be auenged in the meane space,  
On that vile scribler, that did my wowyng disgrace.

**M. Mery.** Scribler (ko you) in deede he is worthy  
no lesse.

I will call hym to you, and ye bidde me doubtlesse.

**R. Royster.** Yes, for although he had as many liues,  
As a thousande widowes, and a thousande wiues,  
As a thousande lyons, and a thousand rattes,  
A thousande wolues, and a thousande cattes,  
A thousande bulles, and a thousande calues,  
And a thousande legions diuided in halues,  
He shall neuer scape death on my swordes point,  
Though I shoulde be torne therefore ioynt by ioynt.

**M. Mery.** Nay, if ye will kyll him, I will not fette  
him,

I will not in so muche extremitie fette him,  
He may yet amende sir, and be an honest man,  
Therefore pardon him good soule, as muche as ye can.

**R. Royster.** Well, for thy sake, this once with his  
lyfe he shall passe,

But I wyll hewe hym all to pieces by the Masse.

**M. Mery.** Nay fayth ye shall promise that he shall  
no harme haue,

Else I will not fet him.

**R. Royster.** I shall so God me faue.

But I may chide him a good.

**M. Mery.** Yea that do hardely.

**R. Royster.** Go then.

**M. Mery.** I returne, and bring him to you by and  
by. *Ex.*



Actus. iij. Scæna. v.

*Roister Doister. Mathewe Merygreeke. Scriuener.*

*R. Royster.*



What is a gentleman but his  
worde and his promise?  
I must nowe saue this vilaines  
lyfe in any wise,  
And yet at hym already my  
handes doe tickle,

I shall vneth holde them, they wyll be so fickle.

But lo and Merygreeke haue not brought him sens?

*M. Mery.* Nay I woulde I had of my purse payde  
fortie pens.

*Scriuener.* So woulde I too: but it needed not that  
flounde,

*M. Mery.* But the ientman had rather spent fyeue  
thousande pounce,

For it disgraced him at least fyeue tymes so muche.

*Scriuener.* He disgraced hym selfe, his loutishnesse  
is fuche.

*R. Royster.* Howe long they stande prating? Why  
comst thou not away?

*M. Mery.* Come nowe to hymselfe, and hearke what  
he will say.

*Scriuener.* I am not afrayde in his presence to ap-  
peere.

*R. Royster.* Arte thou come felow?

*Scriuener.* How thinke you? am I not here?

*R. Royster.* What hindrance hast thou done me,  
and what villanie?

*Scriuener.* It hath come of thy selfe, if thou hast  
had any.

*R. Royster.* All the stocke thou comest of later or  
rather,

From thy fyrst fathers grandfathers fathers father,  
Nor all that shall come of thee to the worldes ende,  
Though to three score generations they descende,

Can be able to make me a iust recompense,  
For this trespassse of thine and this one offense.

**Scriuener.** Wherin?

**R. Royster.** Did not you make me a letter brother?

**Scriuener.** Pay the like hire, I will make you suche  
an other.

**R. Royster.** Nay see and these whooreson Phariseys  
and Scribes

Doe not get their liuyng by polling and bribes.

If it were not for shame.

**Scriuener.** Nay holde thy hands still.

**M. Mery.** Why did ye not promise that ye would  
not him spill?

**Scriuener.** Let him not spare me.

**R. Royster.** Why wilt thou strike me again?

**Scriuener.** Ye shall haue as good as ye bring of me  
that is plaine.

**M. Mery.** I can not blame him sir, though your  
blowes wold him greue.

For he knoweth present death to ensue of all ye geue.

**R. Royster.** Well, this man for once hath purchaséd  
thy pardon. [gon.

**Scriuener.** And what say ye to me? or else I will be

**R. Royster.** I say the letter thou madest me was  
not good.

**Scriuener.** Then did ye wrong copy it of likelyhood.

**R. Royster.** Yes, out of thy copy worde for worde I  
wrote. [wote,

**Scriuener.** Then was it as ye prayed to haue it I  
But in reading and pointyng there was made some faulte.

**R. Royster.** I wote not, but it made all my matter  
to haulte.

**Scriuener.** Howe say you, is this mine originall or  
no? [mote I go.

**R. Royster.** The selfe same that I wrote out of, so

**Scriuener.** Loke you on your owne fist, and I will  
looke on this,

And let this man be iudge whether I reade amisse.

To myne owne dere coney birde, sweete heart, and

Good mistresse Custance, present these by and by.  
How now? doth not this superscription agree?

**R. Royster.** Reade that is within, and there ye shall  
the fault see.

**Scriuener.** Sweete mistresse, where as I loue you,  
nothing at all

Regarding your richesse and substance: chiefe of all  
For your personage, beautie, demeanour and witte  
I commende me vnto you: Neuer a whitte  
Sory to heare reporte of your good welfare.  
For (as I heare say) fuche your conditions are,  
That ye be worthie fauour: Of no liuing man  
To be abhorred: of euery honest man  
To be taken for a woman enclined to vice  
Nothing at all: to vertue giuing hir due price.  
Wherefore concerning mariage, ye are thought  
Suche a fine Paragon, as nere honest man bought.  
And nowe by these presents I doe you aduertise,  
That I am minded to marrie you: In no wyfe  
For your goodes and substance: I can be content  
\*To take you as you are: yf ye will be my wife,  
Ye shall be assured for the time of my life,  
I wyll keepe you right well: from good raiment and fare,  
Ye shall not be kept: but in forowe and care  
Ye shall in no wyfe lyue: at your owne libertie,  
Doe and say what ye lust: ye shall neuer please me  
But when ye are merrie: I will bee all sadde  
When ye are forie: I wyll be very gladde  
When ye seeke your heartes ease: I will be vnkinde  
At no time: in me shall ye muche gentlenesse finde.  
But all things contrary to your will and minde  
Shall be done otherwise: I wyll not be behynde  
To speake: Andas for all they that woulde do you wrong,  
(I wyll so helpe and maintayne ye) shall not lyue long.  
Nor any foolishe dolte shall cumber you, but I,  
I, who ere say nay, wyll sticke by you tyll I die.  
Thus good mistresse Custance, the lorde you faue and  
kepe.

From me Roister Doister, whether I wake or slepe,

Who fauoureth you no lesse, (ye may be bolde)  
 Than this letter purporteth, which ye haue vnfolde.  
 Now fir, what default can ye finde in this letter?

**R. Royster.** Of truth in my mynde there can not be  
 a better. [in writyng,

**Scriuener.** Then was the fault in readyng, and not  
 No nor I dare say in the fourme of endityng,  
 But who read this letter, that it founded so nought?

**M. Mery.** I redde it in deede.

**Scriuener.** Ye red it not as ye ought.

**R. Royster.** Why thou wretched villaine was all this  
 fame fault in thee?

**M. Mery.** I knocke your costarde if ye offer to  
 strike me.

**R. Royster.** Strikest thou in deede? and I offer but  
 in iest? [fit in rest.

**M. Mery.** Yea and rappe you againe except ye can  
 And I will no longer tarie here me beleue.

**R. Royster.** What wilt thou be angry, and I do  
 thee forgeue?

Fare thou well scribler, I crie thee mercie in deede.

**Scriuener.** Fare ye well bibbler, and worthily may  
 ye speede.

**R. Royster.** If it were an other but thou, it were a  
 knaue. [both saue,

**M. Mery.** Ye are an other your selfe fir, the lorde vs  
 Albeit in this matter I must your pardon craue,  
 Alas woulde ye wyshe in me the witte that ye haue?  
 But as for my fault I can quickly amende,  
 I will shewe Custance it was I that did offende.

**R. Royster.** By so doing hir anger may be reformed.

**M. Mery.** But if by no entreatie she will be turned,  
 Then sette lyght by hir and bee as testie as shee,  
 And doe your force vpon hir with extremitie.

**R. Roister.** Come on therefore lette vs go home in  
 sadnesse. [readinesse,

**M. Mery.** That if force shall neede all may be in a  
 And as for thys letter hardely let all go,  
 We wyll know where she refuse you for that or no.

[*Excant am.*

## Actus. iiij. Scæna. j.

Sym Suresby.

Sim Sure.



S there any man but  
 I Sym Suresby  
 alone,  
 That would haue  
 taken such an en-  
 terprise him vpon,  
 In suche an outra-  
 gious tempest as  
 as this was.

Suche a daungerous gulfe of the sea to passe.  
 I thinke verily *Neptunes* mightie godshyp,  
 Was angry with some that was in our shyp,  
 And but for the honestie which in me he founde,  
 I thinke for the others fake we had bene drownde.  
 But fye on that feruant which for his maisters wealth  
 Will sticke for to hazarde both his lyfe and his health.  
 My maister Gawyn Goodlucke after me a day  
 Bicause of the weather, thought best hys shyppe to stay,  
 And now that I haue the rough sourses so well past,  
 God graunt I may finde all things safe here at last.  
 Then will I thinke all my trauaile well spent.  
 Nowe the first poynt wherfore my maister hath me sent  
 Is to salute dame Christian Custance his wife,  
 Espoused: whome he tendreth no lesse than his life,  
 I must see how it is with hir well or wrong,  
 And whether for him she doth not now thinke long:  
 Then to other friendes I haue a message or tway,  
 And then so to returne and mete him on the way.  
 Nowe wyll I goe knocke that I may dispatche with  
 speede,  
 But loe forth commeth hir selfe happily in deede.

## Actus. iiij. Scæna. ij.

Christian Custance. Sim. Suresby.

C. Custance.



Come to see if any more  
stirryng be here,  
But what straunger is this,  
which doth to me appere?  
Sym Surs. I will speake

to hir : Dame the lorde you faue and see.

C. Custance. What friende Sym Suresby? Forsoth  
right welcome ye be,

Howe doth mine owne Gawyn Goodlucke, I pray the tell?

S. Suresby. When he knoweth of your health he  
will be perfect well. [would be.

C. Custance. If he haue perfect helth, I am as I

Sim. Sure. Suche newes will please him well, this is  
as it should be.

C. Custance. I thinke now long for him.

Sym Sure. And he as long for you.

C. Custance. When wil he be at home?

Sym Sure. His heart is here een now

His body commeth after.

C. Custance. I woulde see that faine. [a maine.

Sim Sure. As fast as wynde and fayle can cary it  
But what two men are yonde comming hitherwarde?

C. Custance. Now I shrew their best Christmasse  
chekes both togetherward.

## Actus. iiij. Scæna. iij.

Christian Custance. Sym Suresby. Ralph  
Roister. Mathew Merygreke. Trupeny.

C. Custance.



What meane these lewde  
felowes thus to trouble  
me stil?

Sym Suresby here perchance  
shal therof deme som yll,

And shall suspect in me some point of naughtinesse,  
And they come hitherward.

*Sym Sure.* What is their businesse?

*C. Custance.* I haue nought to them, nor they to  
me in fadnesse.

*Sim Sure.* Let vs hearken them, somewhat there  
is I feare it.

*R. Royster.* I will speake out aloude best, that she  
may heare it.

*M. Mery.* Nay alas, ye may so feare hir out of hir  
wit. [hir no whit.

*R. Royster.* By the crosse of my sworde, I will hurt

*M. Mery.* Will ye doe no harme in deede, shall I  
trust your worde? [but in borde.

*R. Royster.* By Roister Doisters sayth I will speake

*Sim. Sure.* Let vs hearken them, somewhat there is  
I feare it. [heare it :

*R. Royster.* I will speake out aloude, I care not who  
Sirs, see that my harnessse, my tergat, and my shield,  
Be made as bright now, as when I was last in field,  
As white as I shoulde to warre againe to morrowe :  
For sicke shall I be, but I worke some folke forow.  
Therefore see that all shine as bright as sainct George,  
Or as doth a key newly come from the Smiths forge.  
I woulde haue my sworde and harnessse to shine so bright,  
That I might therwith dimme mine enimies fight,  
I would haue it cast beames as fast I tell you playne,  
As doth the glitteryng grasse after a showre of raine.  
And see that in case I shoulde neede to come to arm-  
All things may be ready at a minutes warning, [ing,  
For such chaunce may chaunce in an houre, do ye  
heare ?

*M. Mery.* As perchance shall not chaunce againe  
in feuen yeare.

*R. Royster.* Now draw we neare to hir, and here  
what shall be sayde.

*M. Mery.* But I woulde not haue you make hir too  
muche afraid.

*R. Royster.* Well founde sweete wife (I trust) for al  
this your foure looke.

*Roister Doister.*

**C. Custance.** Wife, why cal ye me wife?

**Sim Sure.** Wife? this gear goth acrook.

**M. Mery.** Nay mistresse Custance, I warrant you,  
our letter

Is not as we redde een nowe, but much better,  
And where ye halfe stomaked this gentleman afore,  
For this same letter, ye wyll loue hym now therefore,  
Nor it is not this letter, though ye were a queene,  
That shoulde breake marriage betweene you twaine I  
weene. [fake.

**C. Custance.** I did not refuse hym for the letters

**R. Royster.** Then ye are content me for your  
husbande to take.

**C. Custance.** You for my husbande to take? no-  
thing lesse truely.

**R. Royster.** Yea say so, sweete spouse, afore straun-  
gers hardly. [with me,

**M. Mery.** And though I haue here his letter of loue  
Yet his ryng and tokens he sent, keepe safe with ye.

**C. Custance.** A mischiefe take his tokens, and him  
and thee too.

But what prate I with fooles? haue I nought else to doo?  
Come in with me Sym Sureby to take some repast.

**Sim Sure.** I must ere I drinke by your leaue, goe  
in all hast,

To a place or two, with earnest letters of his.

**C. Custance.** Then come drink here with me.

**Sim Sure.** I thank you.

**C. Custance.** Do not misse

You shall haue a token to your maister with you.

**Sym Sure.** No tokens this time gramercies, God  
be with you. *Exeat.*

**C. Custance.** Surely this fellowe misdeemeth some  
yll in me.

Which thing but God helpe, will go neere to spill me.

**R. Royster.** Yea farewell fellow, and tell thy maister  
Goodlucke

That he commeth to late of thys blossome to plucke.  
Let him keepe him there still, or at least wise make no  
As for his labour hither he shall spende in wast. [hast,



His betters be in place nowe.

**M. Mery.** As long as it will hold.

**C. Custance.** I will be euen with thee thou beast,  
thou mayst be bolde.

**R. Royster.** Will ye haue vs then?

**C. Custance.** I will neuer haue thee.

**R. Royster.** Then will I haue you?

**C. Custance.** No, the deuill shal haue thee.

I haue gotten this houre more shame and harme by thee,  
'Then all thy life days thou canst do me honestie.

**M. Mery.** Why nowe may ye see what it comth too  
in the ende,

To make a deadly foe of your most louing frende :  
And ywis this letter if ye woulde heare it now.

**C. Custance.** I will heare none of it.

**M. Mery.** In faith would rauishe you. [is cleare.

**C. Custance.** He hath stained my name for euer this

**R. Royster.** I can make all as well in an houre.

**M. Mery.** As ten yeare.

How say ye, wil ye haue him?

**C. Custance.** No.

**M. Mery.** Wil ye take him?

**C. Custance.** I desie him.

**M. Mery.** At my word?

**C. Custance.** A shame take him.

Waste no more wynde, for it will neuer bee.

**M. Mery.** This one faulte with twaine shall be  
mended, ye shall see.

Gentle mistresse Custance now, good mistresse Custance,  
Honey mistresse Custance now, sweete mistresse Custance,  
Golden mistresse Custance now, white mistresse Custance,  
Silken mistresse Custance now, faire mistresse Custance.

**C. Custance.** Faith rather than to mary with suche  
a doltishe loute,

I woulde matche my selfe with a begger out of doute.

**M. Mery.** Then I can say no more, to speede we  
are not like,

Except ye rappe out a ragge of your Rhetorike.

**C. Custance.** Speake not of winnyng me: for it  
shall neuer be so.

**R. Royster.** Yes dame, I will haue you whether ye will or no,

I commaunde you to loue me, wherfore shoulde ye not? Is not my loue to you chafing and burning hot?

**M. Mery.** Too hir, that is well sayd.

**R. Royster.** Shall I so breake my braine To dote vpon you, and ye not loue vs againe?

**M. Mery.** Wel sayd yet.

**C. Custance.** Go to you goose.

**R. Royster.** I say Kit Custance, In case ye will not haze, well, better yes perchaunce.

**C. Custance.** Auaunt lozell, picke thee hence.

**M. Mery.** Wel fir, ye perceiue, For all your kinde offer, she will not you receiue.

**R. Royster.** Then a strawe for hir, and a strawe for hir againe,

She shall not be my wife, woulde she neuer so faine, No and though she would be at ten thousand pounce cost. [ye haue lost.

**M. Mery.** Lo dame, ye may see what an husbände

**C. Custance.** Yea, no force, a iewell muche better lost than founde.

**M. Mery.** Ah, ye will not beleue how this doth my heart wounde.

How shoulde a mariage betwene you be towarde, If both parties drawe backe, and become so frowarde.

**R. Royster.** Nay dame, I will fire thee out of thy house,

And destroy thee and all thine, and that by and by.

**M. Mery.** Nay for the passion of God fir, do not so.

**R. Royster.** Yes, except she will say yea to that she sayde no.

**C. Custance.** And what, be there no officers trow we, in towne

To checke idle loytrers, braggyng vp and downe? Where be they, by whome vacabunds shoulde be re- prest?

That poore fillie Widowes might liue in peace and rest. Shall I neuer ridde thee out of my companie?

I will call for helpe, what hough, come forth Trupenie.

**Trupenie.** Anon. What is your will mistresse? dyd  
ye call me? [may be,

**C. Custance.** Yea, go runne apace, and as fast as  
Pray Tristram Trusty, my moſte assured frende,  
To be here by and by, that he may me defende.

**Trupenie.** That meſſage ſo quickly ſhall be done by  
Gods grace,

That at my returne ye ſhall ſay, I went apace. *Exeat.*

**C. Custance.** Then ſhall we ſee I trowe, whether ye  
ſhall do me harme,

**R. Royster.** Yes in faith Kitte, I ſhall thee and  
thine ſo charme,

That all women incarnate by thee may beware.

**C. Custance.** Nay, as for charming me, come hither  
if thou dare, [traine,

I ſhall cloute thee tyll thou ſinke, both thee and thy  
And coyle thee mine owne handes, and ſende thee  
home againe. [me threaten?

**R. Royster.** Yea ſayſt thou me that dame? doſt thou  
Goe we, I ſtill ſee whether I ſhall be beaten.

**M. Mery.** Nay for the paiſhe of God, let me now  
treate peace,

For bloudſhed will there be in caſe this ſtrife increace.  
Ah good dame Cuiſtance, take better way with you.

**C. Custance.** Let him do his worſt.

**M. Mery.** Yeld in time.

**R. Royster.** Come hence thou.

*Exeant Royster et Mery.*

## Actus. iiij. Scæna. iiij.

Christian Cuiſtance. Anot Alyſace.

Tibet T. M. Mumblecrust.

**C. Cuiſtance.**



O firra, if I ſhould not with  
hym take this way,  
I ſhould not be ridde  
of him I thinke till  
doomes day,

*Roister Doister.*

I will call forth my folkes, that without any mockes  
 If he come agayne we may giue him rappes and knockes.  
 Mage Mumblecruft, come forth, and Tibet Talke apace.  
 Yea and come forth too, mistresse Annot Alyface.

**Annot Aly.** I come.

**Tibet.** And I am here.

**M. Mumb.** And I am here too at length.

**C. Custance.** Like warriors if nede bee, ye must  
 shew your strength

The man that this day hath thus begiled you,  
 Is Ralph Roister Doister, whome ye know well mowe,  
 The moste loute and dastarde that euer on grounde  
 trode. [abrode.

**Tib. Talk.** I see all folke mocke hym when he goth

**C. Custance.** What pretie maide? will ye talke  
 when I speake?

**Tib. Talk.** No forsooth good mistresse.

**C. Custance.** Will ye my tale breake?

He threatneth to come hither with all his force to fight,  
 I charge you if he come, on him with all your might.

**M. Mumb.** I with my distaffe will reache hym one  
 rappe,

**Tib. Talk.** And I with my newe broome will sweepe  
 hym one fwappe,

And then with our greate clubbe I will reache hym one  
 rappe.

**An. Aliface.** And I with our skimmer will fling him  
 one flappe.

**Tib. Talk.** Then Trupenies fireforke will him  
 shrewdly fray,

And you with the spitte may driue him quite away.

**C. Custance.** Go make all ready, that it may be  
 een so.

**Tib. Talk.** For my parte I shrewe them that last about  
 it go. *Exeant.*

## Actus. iiij. Scæna. v.

Christian Custance. Trupenie. Tristram Trusty.

C. Custance.



Rupenie dyd promise me  
to runne a great pace,  
My friend Tristram Trusty  
to fet into this place.  
Indeede he dwelleth hence  
a good stert I confesse:

But yet a quicke messanger might twice since as I gesse,  
Haue gone and come againe. Ah yond I spie him now.

Trupeny. Ye are a slow goer sir, I make God auow.  
My mistresse Custance will in me put all the blame,  
Your leggs be longer than myne: come apace for shame.

C. Custance. I can thee thanke Trupenie, thou hast  
done right wele. [on my hele,

Trupeny. Maistresse since I went no grasse hath growne  
But maister Tristram Trustie here maketh no speede.

C. Custance. That he came at all I thanke him in  
very deede,

For now haue I neede of the helpe of some wise man.

T. Trusty. Then may I be gone againe, for none  
such I [a]m. [man

Trupenie. Ye may bee by your going: for no Alder-  
Can goe I dare say, a sadder pace than ye can.

C. Custance. Trupenie get thee in, thou shalt among  
them knowe,

How to vse thy selfe, like a propre man I trowe.

Trupeny. I go. *Ex.* [much.

C. Custance. Now Tristram Trusty I thank you right  
For at my first sending to come ye neuer grutch.

T. Trusty. Dame Custance God ye saue, and while  
my life shall last, [wast.

For my friende Goodluckes sake ye shall not fende in

C. Custance. He shal giue you thanks.

T. Trusty. I will do much for his sake

C. Custance. But alack, I feare, great displeasure  
shall be take.

*Roister Doister.*

**T. Trusty.** Wherfore?

**C. Custance.** For a foolish matter.

**T. Trusty.** What is your cause [dawes.

**C. Custance.** I am yll accombred with a couple of

**T. Trusty.** Nay weepe not woman: but tell me what  
your cause is

As concerning my friende is any thing amisse?

**C. Custance.** No not on my part: but here was Sym  
Suresby.

**T. Trustie.** He was with me and told me so.

**C. Custance.** And he stode by

While Ralph Roister Doister with helpe of Merygreeke,  
For promise of mariage dyd vnto me seeke.

**T. Trusty.** And had ye made any promise before them  
twaine, [flaine,

**C. Custance.** No I had rather be torne in pieces and  
No man hath my faith and trowth, but Gawyn Good-  
lucke,

And that before Suresby dyd I say, and there stucke,  
But of certaine letters there were suche words spoken.

**T. Trustie.** He tolde me that too.

**C. Custance.** And of a ring and token.

That Suresby I spied, dyd more than halfe suspect,  
That I my faith to Gawyn Goodlucke dyd reiect.

**T. Trusty.** But there was no such matter dame Cus-  
tance in deede?

**C. Custance.** If euer my head thought it, God sende  
me yll speede.

Wherfore I beseech you, with me to be a witnesse,  
That in all my lyfe I neuer intended thing lesse,  
And what a brainficke foole Ralph Roister Doister is,  
Your selfe know well enough.

**T. Trusty.** Ye say full true ywis. [apply,

**C. Custance.** Bicause to bee his wife I ne graunt nor  
Hither will he com he sweareth by and by, [house flat.  
To kill both me and myne, and beate downe my  
Therefore I pray your aide.

**T. Trustie.** I warrant you that.

**C. Custance.** Haue I so many yeres liued a sobre life,  
And shewed my selfe honest, mayde, widowe, and wyfe

And nowe to be abused in such a vile forte,  
Ye see howe poore Widowes lyue all voyde of comfort.

**T. Trusty.** I warrant hym do you no harme nor  
wrong at all. [most appall,

**C. Custance.** No, but Mathew Merygreeke doth me  
That he woulde ioynе hym selfe with suche a wretched  
loute. [doubte,

**T. Trusty.** He doth it for a iest I knowe hym out of  
And here cometh Merygreke.

**C. Custance.** Then shal we here his mind.

## Actus. iiij. Scæna. vj.

Merygreke. Christian Custance. Trist. Trusty.

**M. Mery.**



ustance and Trustie both, I  
doe you here well finde.

**C. Custance.** Ah Mathew  
Merygreeke, ye haue vsed  
me well.

**M. Mery.** Nowe for altogether ye must your  
answere tell.

Will ye haue this man, woman? or else will ye not?  
Else will he come neuer bore so brymme nor tost so hot.

**Tris. and Cu.** But why ioyn ye with him.

**T. Trusty.** For mirth.

**C. Custance.** Or else in sadnesse [mater gesse.

**M. Mery.** The more fond of you both hardly yat  
Tristram. Lo how say ye dame?

**M. Mery.** Why do ye thinke dame Custance  
That in this wowyng I haue ment ought but pastance?

**C. Custance.** Much things ye spake, I wote, to  
maintaine his dotage.

**M. Mery.** But well might ye iudge I spake it all  
in mockage?

For why? Is Roister Doister a fitte husband for you?

**T. Trusty.** I dare say ye neuer thought it.

**M. Mery.** No to God I vow.

And dyd not I knowe afore of the insurance  
Betweene Gawyn Goodlucke, and Christian Custance?  
And dyd not I for the nonce, by my conueyance,  
Reade his letter in a wrong sence for daliance?  
That if you coulde haue take it vp at the first bounde,  
We should therat such a sporte and pastime haue  
founde,

That all the whole towne should haue ben the merier.

**C. Custance.** Ill ake your heades both, I was neuer  
werier,

Nor neuer more vexte since the first day I was borne.

**T. Trusty.** But very well I wist he here did all in  
sorne.

**C. Custance.** But I feared therof to take dishonestie.

**M. Mery.** This should both haue made sport, and  
shewed your honestie [low.

And Goodlucke I dare sweare, your witte therin would

**T. Trusty.** Yea, being no worse than we know it  
to be now. [come to him,

**M. Mery.** And nothing yet to late, for when I  
Hither will he repaire with a sheepes looke full grim,  
By plaine force and violence to driue you to yelde.

**C. Custance.** If ye two bidde me, we will with him  
I and my maides together. [pitche a fielde,

**M. Mery.** Let vs see, be bolde.

**C. Custance.** Ye shall see womens warre.

**T. Trusty.** That fight wil I behold. brim,

**M. Mery.** If occasion serue, takyng his parte full  
I will strike at you, but the rappe shall light on him.  
When we first appeare.

**C. Custance.** Then will I runne away  
As though I were afeard.

**T. Trusty.** Do you that part wel play  
And I will sue for peace.

**M. Mery.** And I wil fet him on.  
Then will he looke as fierce as a Cotfold lyon.

**T. Trusty.** But when gofst thou for him?

**M. Mery.** That do I very nowe.



*C. Custance.* Ye shal find vs here.

*M. Mery.* Wel god haue mercy on you. *Ex.*

*T. Trusty.* There is no cause of feare, the least boy  
in the streete : [him take his feete.

*C. Custance.* Nay, the least girle I haue, will make  
But hearke, me thinke they make preparation.

*T. Trusty.* No force, it will be a good recreation.

*C. Custance.* I will stand within, and steppe forth  
speedily,  
And so make as though I ranne away dreadfully.

## Actus. iiij. Scæna. vij.

*R. Royster. M. Merygreeke. C. Custance.*

*D. Doughtie. Harpax. Tristram Trusty.*

*R. Royster.*



Owe sirs, keepe your ray, and  
see your heartes bestoute,  
But where be these caitifes,  
me think they dare not  
route, [say?

How sayst thou Merygreeke? What doth Kit Custance

*M. Mery.* I am loth to tell you.

*R. Royster.* Tushe speake man, yea or nay? [I can.

*M. Mery.* Forsooth sir, I haue spoken for you all that  
But if ye winne hir, ye must een play the man,  
Een to fight it out, ye must a mans heart take.

*R. Royster.* Yes, they shall know, and thou knowest  
I haue a stomacke. [man had.

[*M. Mery.*] A stomacke (quod you) yea, as good as ere

*R. Royster.* I trowe they shall finde and feele that  
I am a lad. [meate as well,

*M. Mery.* By this crosse I haue seene you eate your  
As any that ere I haue seene of or heard tell,  
A stomacke quod you? he that will that denie  
I know was neuer at dynner in your companie.

*R. Royster.* Nay, the stomacke of a man it is that  
I meane. [I weene.

*M. Mery.* Nay the stomacke of a horse or a dogge

*Roister Doister.*

**R. Royster.** Nay a mans stomacke with a weapon  
meane I. [spoone in a pie.

**M. Mery.** Ten men can scarce match you with a

**R. Royster.** Nay the stomake of a man to trie in  
strife. [in my lyfe.

**M. Mery.** I neuer sawe your stomacke cloyed yet

**R. Royster.** Tushe I meane in strife or fighting  
to trie. [angry.

**M. Mery.** We shall see how ye will strike nowe being

**R. Royster.** Hauē at thy pate then, and saue thy  
head if thou may. [this day,

**M. Mery.** Nay then haue at your pate agayne by

**R. Royster.** Nay thou mayst not strike at me againe  
in no wise. [warrantise:

**M. Mery.** I can not in fight make to you suche

But as for your foes here let them the bargaine bie.

**R. Royster.** Nay as for they, shall euery mothers  
childe die.

And in this my fume a little thing might make me,  
To beate downe house and all, and else the deuill take  
me.

**M. Mery.** If I were as ye be, by gogs deare mother,  
I woulde not leaue one stone vpon an other.

Though she woulde redeeme it with twentie thousand  
pounds.

**R. Royster.** It shall be euen so, by his lily woundes.

**M. Mery.** Bee not at one with hir vpon any amendes.

**R. Royster.** No though she make to me neuer so  
many frendes.

Nor if all the worlde for hir woulde vndertake,  
No not God hymselfe neither, shal not hir peace make,  
On therefore, marche forwarde, soft, stay a whyle yet.

**M. Mery.** On.

**R. Royster.** Tary.

**M. Mery.** Forth.

**R. Royster.** Back.

**M. Mery.** On.

**R. Royster.** Soft. Now forward fet. [alas, alas.

**C. Custance.** What businesse haue we here? out

**R. Royster.** Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha.

Dydst thou see that Merygreeke? how afrayde she was?  
 Dydst thou see how she fledde apace out of my sight?  
 Ah good sweete Cufiance I pitie hir by this light.

**M. Mery.** That tender heart of yours wyll marre  
 altogether,

Thus will ye be turned with waggyng of a fether.

**R. Royster.** On firs, keepe your ray.

**M. Mery.** On forth, while this geare is hot

**R. Royster.** Soft, the Armes of Caley's, I haue one

**M. Mery.** What lacke we now? [thing forgot.

**R. Royster.** Retire, or else we be all flain.

**M. Mery.** Backe for the pashe of God, backe firs,  
 What is the great mater? [backe againe.

**R. Royster.** This hastie forth goyng  
 Had almost brought vs all to vtter vndoing,  
 It made me forget a thing most necessarie. [Marie.

**M. Mery.** Well remembred of a captaine by faint

**R. Royster.** It is a thing must be had.

**M. Mery.** Let vs haue it then.

**R. Royster.** But I wote not where nor how.

**M. Mery.** Then wote not I when.

But what is it?

**R. Royster.** Of a chiefe thing I am to seeke. [a weke.

**M. Mery.** Tut so will ye be, when ye haue studied  
 But tell me what it is?

**R. Royster.** I lacke yet an hedpiece. [to grece,

**M. Mery.** The kitchen collocauit, the best hennes  
 Runne, fet it Dobinet, and come at once withall,  
 And bryng with thee my potgunne, hangyng by the  
 wall,

I haue seene your head with it full many a tyme,  
 Couered as safe as it had bene with a skrine:  
 And I warrant it faue your head from any stroke,  
 Except perchaunce to be amased with the smoke:  
 I warrant your head therwith, except for the mist,  
 As safe as if it were fast locked vp in a chift:  
 And loe here our Dobinet commeth with it nowe.

**D. Dough.** It will couer me to the shoulderswellinow.

**M. Mery.** Let me see it on.

*Roister Doister.*

**R. Royster.** In fayth it doth metely well. [must vs tell

**M. Mery.** There can be no fitter thing. Now ye  
What to do.

**R. Royster.** Nowforth in rayfirs, and stoppe no more.

**M. Mery.** Now fainct George to borow, Drum  
dubbe a dubbe afore.

**T. Trusty.** What meane you to do fir, committe  
manslaughter. [laughter.

**R. Royster.** To kyll fortie fuch, is a matter of

**T. Trusty.** And who is it fir, whome ye intende  
thus to spill? [against my will.

**R. Royster.** Foolishe Custance here forceth me

**T. Trusty.** And is there no meane your extreme  
wrath to flake.

She shall some amendes vnto your good mashyp make.

**R. Royster.** I will none amendes.

**T. Trusty.** Is hir offence so fore?

**M. Mery.** And he were a loute she coulde haue  
done no more.

She hath calde him foole, and dressed him like a foole.

Mocked him lyke a foole, vsed him like a foole.

**T. Trusty.** Well yet the Sheriffe, the Iustice, or  
Constable,

Hir misdemeanour to punishe might be able.

**R. Royster.** No fir, I mine owne selfe will in this  
present cause,

Be Sheriffe, and Iustice, and whole Iudge of the lawes,

This matter to amende, all officers be I shall,

Constable, Bailiffe, Sergeant.

**M. Mery.** And hangman and all. [a man.

**T. Trusty.** Yet a noble courage, and the hearte of  
Should more honour winne by bearyng with a woman.

Therefore take the lawe, and lette hir aunswere therto.

**R. Royster.** Merygreeke, the best way were euen so  
to do.

What honour should it be with a woman to fight?

**M. Mery.** And what then, will ye thus forgo and  
lese your right?

**R. Royster.** Nay, I will take the lawe on hir with-  
outen grace.

**T. Trusty.** Or yf your mashyp coulde pardon this  
I pray you forgiue hir. [one trespac.

**R. Royster.** Hoh?

**M. Mery.** Tushe tushe fir do not.  
Be good maister to hir.

**R. Royster.** Hoh?

**M. Mery.** Tush I say do not.  
And what shall your people here returne streight home?

**T. Trustie.** Yea, leuie the campe firs, and hence  
again eche one, [call,

**R. Royster.** But be still in readinesse if I happe to  
I can not tell what sodaine chaunce may befall.

**M. Mery.** Do not off your harnessse firs I you aduise,  
At the least for this fortnight in no maner wise,  
Perchaunce in an houre when all ye thinke least,  
Our maisters appetite to fight will be best.

But soft, ere ye go, haue once at Custance house.

**R. Royster.** Soft, what wilt thou do?

**M. Mery.** Once discharge my harquebouse [goon.  
And for my heartes ease, haue once more with my pot-

**R. Royster.** Holde thy handes else is all our purpose  
cleane fordoone.

**M. Mery.** And it cost me my life.

**R. Royster.** I say thou shalt not. [with haile shot.

**M. Mery.** By the matte but I will. Haue once more  
I will haue some penyworth, I will not leese all.

## Actus. iiij. Scæna. viij.

**M. Merygreek.** **C. Custance.** **R. Roister.** **Tib. T.**

**An. Alyface.** **M. Mumblecrust.** **Trupenie.**

**Dobinet Doughtie.** **Harpax.** *Two*

*drummes with their Ensignes.*

**C. Custance.**



Hat caitifes are those that  
so shake my house wall?

**M. Mery.** Ah firrha now  
Custance if ye had so  
muche wit

*Roister Doister.*

I woulde see you aske pardon, and your selues submit.

**C. Custance.** Haue I still this adoe with a couple of fooles?

**M. Mery.** Here ye what she saith?

**C. Custance.** Maidens come forth with your tooles.

**R. Royster.** In a ray.

**M. Mery.** Dubba dub firrha.

**R. Royster.** In a ray.

They come sodainly on vs.

**M. Mery.** Dubbadub.

**R. Royster.** In a ray.

That euer I was borne, we are taken tardie.

**M. Mery.** Now sirs, quite our selues like tall men and hardie.

**C. Custance.** On afore Truepenie, holde thyne owne Annot,

On towarde them Tibet, for scape vs they can not.

Come forth Madge Mumblecrust, so stande fast together.

**M. Mery.** God sende vs a faire day.

**R. Royster.** See they marche on hither.

**Tib. Talk.** But mistresse.

**C. Custance.** What sayst you?

**Tib.** Shall I go fet our goose?

**C. Custance.** What to do?

**Tib.** To yonder Captain I will turne hir loose

And she gape and hisse at him, as she doth at me, I durst ieoparde my hande she wyll make him flee.

**C. Custance.** On forward.

**R. Royster.** They com.

**M. Mery.** Stand.

**R. Royster.** Hold.

**M. Mery.** Kepe

**R. Royster.** There.

**M. Mery.** Strike.

**R. Royster.** Take heede.

**C. Custance.** Wel sayd Truepeny.

**Trupeny.** Ah whooresons.

**C. Custance.** Wel don in deede

**M. Mery.** Hold thine owne *Harpax*, downe with them Dobinet.

**C. Custance.** Now Madge, there Annot : now sticke them Tibet. [knaue,

**Tib. Talk.** All my chiefe quarell is to this same little That begyled me last day, nothyng shall him faue.

**D. Dough.** Downe with this litle queane, that hath at me such spite,  
Saue you from hir maister, it is a very sprite.

**C. Custance.** I my selfe will mounfire graunde captaine vndertake,

**R. Royster.** They win grounde.

**M. Mery.** Saue your selfe fir, for gods fake.

**R. Royster.** Out, alas, I am flaine, helpe.

**M. Mery.** Saue your self.

**R. Royster.** Alas.

**M. Mery.** Nay then, haue at you mistresse.

**R. Royster.** Thou hittest me, alas.

**M. Mery.** I wil strike at Custance here.

**R. Royster.** Thou hittest me.

**M. Mery.** So I wil.

Nay mistresse Custance.

**R. Royster.** Alas, thou hittest me still.

Hold.

**M. Mery.** Saue your self fir.

**R. Royster.** Help, out alas I am slain

**M. Mery.** Truce, hold your hands, truce for a pissing while or twaine :

Nay how say you Custance, for sauing of your life,  
Will ye yelde and graunt to be this gentmans wife ?

**C. Custance.** Ye tolde me he loued me, call ye this loue ?

**M. Mery.** He loued a while euen like a turtle doue.

**C. Custance.** Gay loue God faue it, so soone hotte,  
so soone colde,

**M. Mery.** I am sory for you : he could loue you yet so he coulde.

**R. Royster.** Nay by cocks precious she shall be none of mine.

**M. Mery.** Why so ? [kine.

**R. Royster.** Come away, by the matte she is man-  
I durst aduenture the losse of my right hande,

*Roister Doister.*

If shee dyd not flee hir other husbände :  
And see if she prepare not againe to fight.

**M. Mery.** What then ? faint George to borow, our Ladies knight.

**R. Royster.** Slee else whom she will, by gog she shall not flee mee.

**M. Mery.** How then ?

**R. Royster.** Rather than to be flaine, I will flee.

**C. Custance.** Too it againe, my knightesses, downe with them all.

**R. Royster.** Away, away, away, she will else kyll vs all.

**M. Mery.** Nay sticke to it, like an hardie man and a tall.

**R. Royster.** Oh bones, thou hittest me. Away, or else die we shall.

**M. Mery.** Away for the pashe of our sweete Lord Iesus Christ.

**C. Custance.** Away loute and lubber, or I shall be thy priest. *Exeat om.*

So this felde is ours we haue driuen them all away.

**Tib Talk.** Thanks to God mistresse, ye haue had a faire day.

**C. Custance.** Well nowe goe ye in, and make your selfe some good cheere.

*Omnes pariter.* We goe.

**T. Trust.** Ah sir, what a field we haue had heere.

**C. Custance.** Friend Tristram, I pray you be a witnesse with me.

**T. Trusty.** Dame Custance, I shall depose for your honestie,

And nowe fare ye well, except some thing else ye wolde.

**C. Custance.** Not now, but when I nede to fende I will be bolde. *Exeat.*

I thanke you for these paines. And now I wyll get me in,

Now Roister Doister will no more wowyng begin. *Ex.*



## Actus. v. Scæna. j.

Gawyn Goodlucke. Sym Suresby.



Ym Suresby my trustie man, nowe  
aduise thee well,  
And see that no false furnifes thou  
me tell,

Was there such adoe about Cuf-  
tance of a truth?

*Sim. Sure.* To reporte that I  
hearde and sawe, to me is ruth,

But both my duetie and name and propretie,  
Warneth me to you to shewe fidelitie,  
It may be well enough, and I wyshe it so to be,  
She may hir selfe discharge and trie hir honestie,  
Yet their clayme to hir me thought was very large,  
For with letters rings and tokens, they dyd hir charge.  
Which when I hearde and sawe I would none to you  
bring. [thing.]

*G. Goodl.* No, by faint Marie, I allowe thee in that  
Ah sirra, nowe I see truthe in the prouerbe olde,  
All things that shineth is not by and by pure golde,  
If any doe lyue a woman of honestie,  
I would haue sworne Christian Custance had bene shee.

*Sim. Sure.* Sir, though I to you be a seruant true  
and iust.

Yet doe not ye therfore your faithfull spouse mystrust.  
But examine the matter, and if ye shall it finde,  
To be all well, be not ye for my wordes vnkinde.

*G. Goodl.* I shall do that is right, and as I see  
cause why.

But here commeth Custance forth, we shal know by  
and by.

## Actus. v. Scæna. ij.

*C. Custance.* Gawyn Goodlucke. Sym Suresby.

*C. Custance.*



Come forth to see and  
hearken for newes good,  
For about this houre is  
the tyme of likelyhood,  
That Gawyn Goodlucke  
by the sayings of Suresby,

Would be at home, and lo yond I see hym I.

What Gawyn Goodlucke, the onely hope of my life,  
Welcome home, and kyffe me your true espoused wife.

*Ga. Good.* Nay soft dame Custance, I must first by  
your licence,

See whether all things be cleere in your conscience,  
I heare of your doings to me very straunge.

*C. Custance.* What feare ye? that my faith towardes  
you should change? [entangled.

*Ga. Good.* I must needes mistrust ye be elsewhere  
For I heare that certaine men with you haue wrangled  
About the promise of mariage by you to them made.

*C. Custance.* Could any mans reporte your minde  
therein persuade? [to stande cleere,

*Ga. Good.* Well, ye must therin declare your selfe  
Else I and you dame Custance may not ioyne this yere.

*C. Custance.* Then woulde I were dead, and faire  
layd in my graue,

Ah Suresby, is this the honestie that ye haue?

To hurt me with your report, not knowyng the thing.

*Sim Sure.* If ye be honest my wordes can hurte  
you nothing.

But what I hearde and sawe, I might not but report.

*C. Custance.* Ah Lorde, helpe poore widowes, desti-  
tute of comfort. [pastance.

Truly most deare spouse, nought was done but for

*G. Good.* But such kynde offsporting is homely daliance.

*C. Custance.* If ye knewe the truthe, ye would take  
all in good parte. [in that arte.

*Ga. Good.* By your leaue I am not halfe well skilled

C. Custance. It was none but Roister Doister that  
foolishe mome. [scuse than none.

Ga. Good. Yea Custance, better (they say) a badde

C. Custance. Why Tristram Trustie sir, your true  
and faithfull frende,

Was priuie bothe to the beginning and the ende.

Let him be the Iudge, and for me testifie. [verifie,

Ga. Good. I will the more credite that he shall  
And bicause I will the truthe know een as it is,

I will to him my selfe, and know all without misse.

Come on Sym Surefby, that before my friend thou may  
Auouch the same wordes, which thou dydst to me say.

*Exeant.*

## Actus. v. Scæna. iij.

### Christian Custance.

C. Custance.



Lorde, howe necessarie it  
is nowe of dayes,  
That eche bodie liue  
vprightly all maner  
wayes,


For lette neuer so little a gappe be open,  
And be sure of this, the worst shall be spoken  
Howe innocent stande I in this for deede or thought?  
And yet see what mistrust towardes me it hath wrought  
But thou Lorde knowest all folkes thoughts and eke  
And thou arte the deliuerer of all innocentes. [intents  
Thou didst helpe the aduoutresse that she might be  
amended,

Much more then helpe Lorde, that neuer yll intended.  
Thou didst helpe *Sufanna*, wrongfully accused,  
And no lesse dost thou see Lorde, how I am now abused,  
Thou didst helpe *Hester*, when she should haue died,  
Helpe also good Lorde, that my truth may be tried.  
Yet if Gawin Goodlucke with Tristram Trusty speake.  
I trust of yll report the force shall be but weake,  
And loe yond they come sadly talking together,  
I wyll abyde, and not shrinke for their comming hither.

## Actus. v. Scæna. iiij.

Gawyn Goodlucke. Tristram Trustie.

C. Custance. Sym Suresby.

Ga. Good.  And was it none other than  
ye to me reporte?

Tristram. No, and here  
were ye wished to haue  
seene the sporte.

Ga. Good. Woulde I had, rather than halfe of that  
in my purse. [was no wurse,

Sim Sure. And I doe muche reioyce the matter  
And like as to open it, I was to you faithfull,  
So of dame Custance honest truth I am ioyfull.  
For God forfende that I shoulde hurt hir by false  
reporte. [comforte.

Ga. Good. Well, I will no longer holde hir in dif-

C. Custance. Nowe come they hitherwarde, I trust  
all shall be well. [nor tongue tell,

Ga. Good. Sweete Custance neither heart can thinke  
Howe much I ioy in your constant fidelitie,  
Come nowe kisse me the pearle of perfect honestie.

C. Custance. God lette me no longer to continue  
in lyfe,  
Than I shall towardses you continue a true wyfe.

Ga. Goodl. Well now to make you for this some  
parte of amendes,  
I shall desire first you, and then suche of our frendes,  
As shall to you seeme best, to suppe at home with me,  
Where at your fought fielde we shall laugh and mery be.

Sim Sure. And mistresse I beseech you, take with  
me no greefe,  
I did a true mans part, not wishyng you reпреefe.

C. Custance. Though hastie reportes through sur-  
mises growyng,  
May of poore innocentes be vtter ouerthrowyng,  
Yet bicause to thy maister thou hast a true hart, [part.  
And I know mine owne truth, I forgiue thee for my

**Ga. Goodl.** Go we all to my house, and of this gear  
no more.

Goe prepare all things Sym Suresby, hence, runne afore.

**Sim Sure.** I goe. *Ex.*


**G. Good.** But who commeth yond, M. Merygreeke?

**C. Custance.** Roister Doisters champion, I shrewe  
his best cheeke. [hym too.

**T. Trusty.** Roister Doister selfe your wower is with  
Surely some thing there is with vs they haue to doe.

## Actus. v. Scæna. v.

**M. Merygreeke.** **Ralph Roister.** **Gawyn Goodlucke.**  
**Tristram Trustie.** **C. Custance.**

**M. Mery.**  **Y**ond I see Gawyn Goodlucke,  
to whome lyeth my mes-  
sage,  
I will first salute him after his  
long voyage,

And then make all thing well concerning your behalfe.

**R. Royster.** Yea for the pashe of God.

**M. Mery.** Hence out of sight ye calfe,  
Till I haue spoke with them, and then I will you fet,

**R. Royster.** In Gods name.

**M. Mery.** What master Gawin Goodluck wel met  
And from your long voyage I bid you right welcome

**Ga. Good.** I thanke you. [home.

**M. Mery.** I come to you from an honest mome.

**Ga. Good.** Who is that?

**M. Mery.** Roister Doister that doughtie kite.

**C. Custance.** Fye, I can scarce abide ye shoulde his  
name recite. [all past,

**M. Mery.** Ye must take him to fauour, and pardon  
He heareth of your returne, and is full yll agast.

**Ga. Good.** I am ryght well content he haue with  
vs some chere. [be there.

**C. Custance.** Fye vpon him beast, then wyll not I

**Ga. Good.** Why Custance do ye hate hym more  
than ye loue me?

**C. Custance.** But for your mynde fir, where he were  
would I not be?

**T. Trusty.** He woulde make vs al laugh.

**M. Mery.** Ye nere had better sport. [vs refort.

**Ca. Good.** I pray you sweete Custance, let him to

**C. Custance.** To your will I assent.

**M. Mery.** Why, fuche a foole it is,

As no man for good pastime would forgoe or misse.

**G. Goodl.** Fet him to go wyth vs.

**M. Mery.** He will be a glad man. *Ex.*

**T. Trusty.** We must to make vs mirth, maintaine  
hym all we can.

And loe yond he commeth and Merygreeke with him.

**C. Custance.** At his first entrance ye shall see I wyll  
him trim.

But first let vs hearken the gentlemanswise talke. [stalke.

**T. Trusty.** I pray you marke if euer ye sawe crane fo

## Actus. v. Scæna. vj.

**R. Roister.** **M. Merygreeke.** **C. Custance.** **G.**  
**Goodlucke.** **T. Trustie.** **D. Doughtie.** **Harpax.**

**R. Royster.**  Ay I then be bolde?

**M. Mery.** I warrant you  
on my worde,

They say they shall be ficke,  
but ye be at theyr borde.

**R. Royster.** Thei wer not angry then.

**M. Mery.** Yes at first, and made strange

But when I sayd your anger to fauour shoulde change,

And therewith had commended you accordingly,

They were all in loue with your mashyp by and by.

And cried you mercy that they had done you wrong.

**R. Royster.** For why, no man, woman, nor childe  
can hate me long. [one day,

**M. Mery.** We feare (quod they) he will be auenged

Then for a peny giue all our liues we may.

**R. Royster.** Sayd they so in deede.

**M. Mery.** Did they? yea, euen with one voice

He will forgiue all (quod I) Oh how they did reioyce.

**R. Royster.** Ha, ha, ha. [good moode,

**M. Mery.** Goe fette hym (say they) while he is in  
For haue his anger who lust, we will not by the Roode.

**R. Royster.** I pray God that it be all true, that thou  
And that she fight no more. [hast me tolde,

**M. Mery.** I warrant you, be bolde  
Too them, and salute them.

**R. Royster.** Sirs, I greeete you all well.

*Omnes.* Your maistership is welcom.

**C. Custance.** Sauyng my quarell.

For sure I will put you vp into the Eschequer.

**M. Mery.** Why so? better nay: Wherefore?

**C. Custance.** For an vsurer.

**R. Royster.** I am no vsurer good mistresse by his  
armes. [mans harmes?

**M. Mery.** When tooke he gaine of money to any

**C. Custance.** Yes, a fowle vsurer he is, ye shall  
see els. [no mo quarels?

**R. Royster.** Didst not thou promise she would picke

**C. Custance.** He will lende no blowes, but he haue  
in recompence

Fiftene for one, whiche is to mucche of conscience.

**R. Royster.** Ah dame, by the auncient lawe of  
armes, a man

Hath no honour to foile his handes on a woman.

**C. Custance.** And where other vsurers take their  
gaines yerely,

This man is angry but he haue his by and by.

**Ga. Goodl.** Sir, doe not for hir sake beare me your  
displeasure. [at leasure.

**M. Mery.** Well, he shall with you talke therof more  
Vpon your good vsage, he will now shake your hande.

**R. Royster.** And much heartily welcome from a  
straunge lande.

**M. Mery.** Be not afearde Gawyn to let him shake  
your fyft. [I wist.

**Ga. Goodl.** Oh the moste honeste gentleman that ere  
I beseeche your mashyp to take payne to suppe with vs.

**M. Mery.** He shall not say you nay and I too, by Iesus.

Bicaufe ye shall be friends, and let all quarels passe.

**R. Royster.** I wyll be as good friends with them as  
ere I was. [haue a song.

**M. Mery.** Then let me fet your quier that we may

**R. Royster.** Goe. [yeare long.

**G. Goodluck.** I haue hearde no melodie all this

**M. Mery.** Come on firs quickly.

**R. Royster.** Sing on firs, for my frends sake.

**D. Dough.** Cal ye these your frends?

**R. Royster.** Sing on, and no mo words make.

*Here they sing.*

**Ga. Good.** The Lord preferue our most noble  
Queene of renowne,

And hir virtues rewarde with the heauenly crowne.

**C. Custance.** The Lorde strengthen hir most excel-  
lent Maiestie,

Long to reigne ouer vs in all prosperitie. [to defende,

**T. Trusty.** That hir godly proceedings the faith  
He may stablishe and maintaine through to the ende.

**M. Mery.** God graunt hir as she doth, the Gospell  
to protect,

Learning and vertue to aduaunce, and vice to correct.

**R. Royster.** God graunt hir louyng subiects both  
the minde and grace,

Hir most godly procedyngs worthily to imbrace. [prosper,

*Harpax.* Hir highnesse most worthy counsellers God  
With honour and loue of all men to minister.

*Omnes.* God graunt the nobilitie hir to ferue and loue,  
With all the whole commontie as doth them behoue.

AMEN.

## Certaine Songs to be song by

*those which shall vse this Comedie or Enterlude.*

### The Seconde Song.

**W**Ho so to marry a minion Wyfe,  
Hath hadde good chaunce and happe,  
Must loue hir and cherishe hir all his life,  
And dandle hir in his lappe.



If she will fare well, yf she wyll go gay,  
A good husbände euer styll,  
What euer she lust to doe, or to fay,  
Must lette hir haue hir owne will.

About what affaires so euer he goe,  
He must shewe hir all his mynde,  
None of hys counsell she may be kept free,  
Else is he a man vnkynde.

*The fourth Song.*

**I** Mun be maried a Sunday  
I mun be maried a Sunday,  
Who foeuer shall come that way,  
I mun be maried a Sunday.

Royster Doyster is my name,  
Royster Doyster is my name,  
A lustie brute I am the same,  
I mun be maried a Sunday.

Christian Custance haue I founde,  
Christian Custance haue I founde,  
A Wydowe worthe a thousande pounce,  
I mun be maried a funday.

Custance is as sweete as honey,  
Custance is as sweete as honey,  
I hir lambe and she my coney,  
I mun be maried a Sunday.

When we shall make our weddyng feast,  
When we shall make oure weddyng feast,  
There shall bee cheere for man and beast,  
I mun be maried a Sunday.

I mun be maried a Sunday, etc.

*The Pjalmodie*

**P**lacebo dilexi, [die,  
Maister Roister Doister wil streight go home and  
Our Lorde Iesus Christ his foule haue mercie vpon:  
Thus you see to day a man, to morrow Iohn.

*Roister Doister.*

Yet fauing for a womans extreeme crueltie,  
 He might haue lyued yet a moneth or two or three,  
 But in spite of Custance which hath him weries,  
 His mashyp shall be worshipfully buried.  
 And while some piece of his foule is yet hym within,  
 Some parte of his funeralls let vs here beginne.

*Dirige.* He will go darklyng to his graue.  
*Neque lux, neque crux, nisi solum* clinke,  
 Neuer gentman so went toward heauen I thinke.

Yet firs as ye wyll the blisse of heauen win,  
 When he commeth to the graue lay hym softly in,  
 And all men take heede by this one Gentleman,  
 How you sette your loue vpon an vnkinde woman :  
 For these women be all suche madde pieuish elues,  
 They wyll not be woonne except it please them selues.  
 But in faith Custance if euer ye come in hell,  
 Maister Roister Doister shall serue you as well. [knaue.  
 Good night Roger olde knaue, Farewel Roger olde  
 Good night Roger olde knaue, knaue, knap.  
*Nequando. Audiui vocem. Requiem æternam.*

The Peale of belles rong by the parish Clerk,  
 and Roister Doisters foure men.

The first Bell a Triple.  
 When dyed he? When dyed he?

The seconde.  
 We haue hym, We haue hym.

The thirde  
 Royster Doyster, Royster Doyster.

The fourth Bell.  
 He commeth, He commeth.

The greate Bell.  
 Our owne, Our owne.

FINIS.

# English Reprints.

## THE REVELATION

TO

## THE MONK OF EVESHAM.

1196.

CAREFULLY EDITED FROM THE UNIQUE COPY,  
NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, OF THE EDITION  
PRINTED BY WILLIAM DE MACHLINIA ABOUT 1482.

BY

EDWARD ARBER,

*Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.*

LONDON :

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

*Ent. Stat. Hall.]*

15 October, 1869.

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# CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	3
<i>THE REVELATION TO THE MONK OF EVESHAM.</i>	
(1) The Prologue of the Revelation . . . . .	15
(2) [The Table of Chapters] . . . . .	16
<i>THE REVELATION.</i> . . . .	
In Fifty-eight Chapters and an Epilogue.	
The Trance and Recovery of the Young Monk of Evesham Abbey . . . . .	19-35
<i>THE JOURNEY THROUGH PURGATORY &amp; PARADISE TO HEAVEN.</i>	
I. PURGATORY.	
The first place of Pains . . . . .	36-39, 73
<i>Characters</i> —A Prior, that died this same year . . . . .	65
An Anchoress, that had come late from the world . . . . .	69
A Bishop 'born in this ground of England' and had his Bishopry beyond the Sea, deceased this same year about the Feast of Michael the Archangel . . . . .	70
A poor man's wife . . . . .	71
A Knight that brake the Vow of Pilgrimage . . . . .	74
A Knight with the sparrowhawke on his fist, that had passed to God ten years ago . . . . .	75
The second place of Pains . . . . .	40, 41, 76, 82
<i>Characters</i> —A sinful Woman saved by Saint Margaret . . . . .	42
A drunken Goldsmith saved by Saint Nicholas . . . . .	46-56
The three Bishops . . . . .	77
An Archbishop of Canterbury . . . . .	79
Poisoners . . . . .	83
Usurers, Fugitives out of Religion . . . . .	84
A certain King of England . . . . .	84
A Bishop, an Archbishop-elect, that died 4 years ago . . . . .	86
An Abbot, that died 10 years ago . . . . .	87
An Abbess, that passed this same year out from this world . . . . .	90
A Knight guilty of Simony . . . . .	92
A young Monk, that was Sexton of the Church . . . . .	95
A certain Clerk that lived holily . . . . .	96
The third place of Pains . . . . .	56-59
<i>Character</i> —A Doctor of Law, that died about 9 months ago . . . . .	60
II. PARADISE. . . . .	
The Vision of the Crofs in Paradife . . . . .	
105	
<i>Characters</i> —An Abbess, that died 13 years ago . . . . .	99
A devout and aged Prior, that died 3 years ago . . . . .	101
A young Monk, that died early . . . . .	103
A worshipful Priest, who was an holy preacher . . . . .	104
III. HEAVEN.	
The Crystal Wall . . . . .	107
The Gate and the Entiring in thereof . . . . .	107
The Stairs in the Wall and the Throne . . . . .	108
The sweet Peal and Melody of Bells . . . . .	110

3

THE REVELATION  
TO  
THE MONK OF EVESHAM.

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INTRODUCTION.



IN the chronology of English printing, between William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde, occur the less familiar names of JOHN LETTOU and William of Malines, or as he variously printed his name, WILHELMUM DE MACHLINIA, WILHELMUM DE MECHLINIA, and even WILLIAM

MACLYN.

Not much is known of these two minor printers: nothing indeed beyond the testimony of their own productions. Some account, however, though it may be a limited and imperfect one, of their works will be advantageous, previous to an acquaintance with *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham*.

2. Besides printing on their own account, Lettou and Machlinia joined in partnership for at least the production of one book, in the colophon of which Lettou's name comes first. Possibly therefore he may have been the older printer. Their works are of great rarity: some of them extraordinarily so. The following list of many of them contains their designations or titles in English, shows the languages in which they are printed, and gives the press marks of copies now in British Museum. Those distinguished by A have the name of the printer upon them: those by B have neither the name of the printer nor of the place or date of printing.

John Lettou.

- A The Minorite ANTONIUS ANDREAS, *Questions in Aristotle's Metaphysics*; edited by the Augustine THOMAS PENKETH. 1480. [Latin.] *Gren. Coll.* 8984.
- A JOHN PEREZ DE VALENTIA, *Expositions on the Psalms*. 1481. [Latin.] C. 11. b. 9.

Lettou and Machlinia.

- A Sir THOMAS LITTLETON, *Tenures*. [Norman-French]. 508, f. 1
- B An abridgement of the Statutes, with title or printer's name, &c. [Norman-French.] (1) C. 12. i. 10. (2) 505. g. 1.

## William de Machlinia.

- A I. Sir THOMAS LITTLETON, *Tenures*. [Norman French.] 508. f. 2.  
 A III. Year Book, 34 Hen. vi. 14. [Norman-French.] C. 11. b. 10.  
 A II. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *On the secrets of Nature*. [Latin]. (1) C. 31. e. 25. (2) 546. h. 6.  
 A III. JOHN WATTON, 'Speculum Xristiani,' *The Mirror of a Christian*. [Latin and English]. C. 11, a. 28.  
 B I. Year Book, 33 Hen. VI. [Norman-French.] 505. g. 1.  
 B I. Year Book, 35 Hen. VI. [Norman-French.] 505. g. 1.  
 B I. Year Book, 36 Hen. VI. [Norman-French.] 505. g. 1.  
 B II. A book, without title, known as 'Nova Statuta,' *The New Statutes*. [Norman-French.] C. 11. c. 13.  
 B II. *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham*. [English.] C. 21.  
 B III. *A passing gode lityll boke necessarye and behouefull agensst the Pestilence*, translated from the Latin of *Reginam contra epidiniam sive pestam*, written by Canutus, Bishop of Aarhus in Jutland.  
 B III. A Chronicle of England. [English.] *Gren. Coll.* 5991.

3. The first book ever printed in London, was printed by John Lettou. It was the above Penketh's edition of Andreas' *Questions in Aristotle's Metaphysics*: a work first printed at Naples in 1475.

The Rev. Dr. Cotton tells us :

If we consider Westminster as a distinct city from London, the latter can only claim the third, or perhaps fourth place in order of time among the English towns into which the art of printing was introduced: a press being certainly at work in Oxford in the year 1478, and one at St. Alban's in 1480. No book executed at London is found bearing an earlier date than this last-mentioned year; the first known specimen being, *Antonii Andree questiones super xii. libros metaphysices*, printed by John Lettou, in 1480. Lettou was probably a foreigner, and he is only known to have printed two books (in 1480 and 1481) before he joined with Wm. Machlinia, who is also supposed to have been a foreigner from Germany or the Low Countries. Machlinia probably continued his occupation for some years, yet comparatively few of his books have come down to our times; and of these not one single volume bears a date.—*Typographical Gazetteer*, p. 148, Ed. 1831.

But two copies of Andreas' *Questiones* are known. The above one in the Grenville Collection, and another at Magdalen College, Oxford. The two volumes printed by Lettou were both published at the expense of Thomas Wilcock. They are printed in double columns, and have blank spaces left for the initial letters to be filled by hand, as is the case of most of the above works. The colophons expanded of Lettou's two works, run thus :

A. Andreas' *Questiones*.

¶ Excellentissimi sacre theologie professoris Anthonii Andree ordinis fratrum minorum super duodecimo libros Methaphiscae questionibus per uenerabilem uirum magistrum Thoman Penketh ordinis fratrum Augustinenium emendatis finis impositus est per me Iohannem lettou ad expensas Wilhelmi Wilcock impressis. Anno xristi M.CCCC.lxxx.

J. Perez de Valentia's bulky work, usually known as *Expositiones super Psalterium*.

¶ Expliciunt Reuerendissimi doctoris Valencii super psalterium hucusque expoznes Impresse in ciuitate Londoniensi ad expensas Wilhelmi Wilcock per me Iohannem lettou. Anno xristi M.CCCC.lxxxii.

Aristotle and David, Intellect and Piety: a fit beginning for the prodigious literature that has been, that is, that yet will spring into existence in London.

4. Sir Thomas Littleton died on 23rd August 1481. It was probably after his death that Lettou and Machlinia, our first Law printers, joined together to print what is probably the first edition of his *Tenures*. The colophon of this book runs thus :

Expliciunt Tenores nouelli Impresse per nos Iohem lettou et Willem de machlinia in Ciuitate Londoniarum iuxta exclesiam omnium sanctorum. [There were eight churches in London, dedicated to the honour of *All Saints*, commonly written Alhallows. Near which *Alhallows* cannot therefore be now known.]

There is another work, known as the *Vieux Abridgement des Statutes* which is also attributed to their joint-effort, but it bears no date nor name of printer, place, &c.

5. The works, known and supposed, of William de Machlinia are more numerous. He appears to have lived either in Holborn or near the Fleet Bridge.

Another of the earliest editions of Littleton's *Tenures* has this colophon.

Expliciunt Tenores nouelli Impressi  
per me Wilhelmum de machlinia in opulen-  
tissima Ciuitate Londoniarum iuxta pontem  
qui vulgariter dicitur Flete brigge

The Year Book 34 Hen. VI., has this short colophon.

Emprente par moy William Maclyn en Holborn.

The edition of Albertus Magnus *Liber aggregationis ; seu liber secretorum*, &c., has this colophon.

Albertus Magnus de Secretis naturæ Explicit  
Necnon per me Wilhelmum de mechlinia Impressus In  
opulentissima Ciuitate Londoniarum iuxta pontem qui  
vulgariter dicitur Flete brigge.

But the most interesting of all the acknowledged productions of Machlinia, and the one which has the closest affinity to the present work, is a book which begins *Incipit liber qui vocatur Speculum Xristiani*. It is a devotional work, and consists of three parts.

(1.) The *Speculum Xristiani* is composed of short quotations chiefly in Latin, from the Scriptures and the Fathers, interspersed with original, though rude English verse in illustration of the teaching. It is divided into eight 'tables' or 'chapters': whereof the first treats of the Catholic faith and the articles of belief: the second of the ten precepts of the Decalogue and the two of the Gospel: the third of the seven works of mercy, the seven works of the spirit, the seven principal virtues: the fourth of the seven cardinal sins, and the like. The following—to be found in the seventh table—is a good specimen of the verse, which otherwise is interesting from its very early position in English printed Poetry.

Ensample we may see and here  
Of Iherusalem that was so riche a citee  
Of it openly spekys Ieremye  
And also dauid in hys prophecye  
How it was destroyed withouten wene  
And the walles beten doun all be dene

Wallid it was with wallys thre  
 A semely sight on to see  
 The temple brent ful dulfully  
 And beten doun hit was holly.

So riche a temple hit was one  
 In this worlde was founden none  
 With walles and pylers here onlyght  
 Hyled with golde that schone ful bright

So many lampes ther in brent ay  
 Hit made the night bright as the daye  
 Their oyle was medled with swete oynement  
 Out of whiche swete sauour sprent

Thair sence was wonderly wrought  
 With riche spices that they dere bought  
 Ther of come swete smellyng  
 Sweter felt neuer man here luyng  
 Ther is now nether Emperour ne kyng  
 That night mayntene suche sensyng

Ther were thre hondred there in syngand  
 Suche songe herde neuer man in this londe  
 With harpe and pipe and sawtrie  
 And all other maner of mynstralcye  
 And this was all their synging  
 The psalmes that made David the kyng

And why this Cite destroyed was  
 Fals and coueitous men grete cheson was  
 That euer brent in coueitise more and more  
 Yf we doo so aught to drede full sore  
 Last vs befalle as thaim befelle  
 Al wise clerkys thys tale can telle

And yet this fyre brennes so bate  
 That no man may it slewke and bate  
 And ther of comes so grete a smoke  
 That men may not vp to heuen loke

For wher may we now many fynde  
 That they not other bleereyed or all blynde  
 Or ellys a perse in their eye  
 Thof they in state or ordre be right heye  
 Who so might conuert blynde and bleryeye  
 And make them to goddys bydding obedient be  
 God wolde forgyf him all his synne  
 And graunt hym blisse that neuer schal blinne

But I am nought so grete a clerke  
 For to do so strong a werke  
 Therefore me and all mankynde  
 Into the mercy of god I recomende

(2.) The second part of the *Speculum Xristiani* mainly confists of an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. It has the following title.

Sequitur expositio oracionis dominicæ cum quodam bono notabili et septem capitalia vicia cum aliquibus ramis eorum

(3.) The third part confists of the Admonitions of the blessed Ifidore: and has this title.

Sequuntur monita de verbis beati ysidori extracta ad instruendum hominem qualiter vicia valeat euitare et in bonis se debeat informare.



At the close of the whole, comes the following colophon.

Iste Libellus impressus est in opulentissima Ciuitate Londoniarum per me Willelmum de Machlinia ad instanciam necnon expensas Henrici Vrankenburgh mercatoris.

As Thomas Wilcock paid the expenses of Lettou's two books: the piety of the merchant Henry Urankenberg furnished Machlinia with the means for the production of the *Speculum Xristiani*.

6. A typographical matter now meets us: and it is important, because it is the bridge between the known and the supposed works of Machlinia. Mr. Dibdin gives us this opinion of Machlinia as a printer.

Machlinia unquestionably printed with at least three different casts of letters; of which the more elegant specimens are those of the *Speculum Xriani*, and *Albertus Magnus* 'De Secretis Mulierum.' Machlinia is always superior to Lettou, and some attempt at proportion and beauty may be seen in his register, or press work; but he is not only far beneath Wynkyn de Worde in every point of good printing, but is frequently below Caxton; whose broad and bold types seem not to have suited his meagre taste. His paper is not generally so good as that of his contemporaries; but in the subsequently mentioned work of 'Albertus Magnus,' and in the 'Nova Statuta' he has shewn himself not indifferent to the niceties and beauty of his art. The paper is excellent, the margin broad, and the register exact.—*Typ. Ant.* ii. 9.

In the above list, an attempt has been made to classify Machlinia's books, according to the founts of type used in them. The law-books group under I. The *Albertus Magnus*, the *Nova Statuta*, and *The Monk of Evesham*, form group II.: while the third group is composed of the *Speculum Xristiani*, *Chronicle of England*, and *Lityll boke agenst the Plague*, &c. The three groups are sharp and distinct from each other, and consistent within.

Mr. Dibdin observes with reference to the present work:

This extraordinary performance, which is bound up with a copy of Caxton's *Order of Chivalry*, in the British Museum, is printed with types of the same character as those of the *Nova Statuta*; but more rudely executed. The book has no indication whatever of place, or printer's name; nor has it numerals, catchwords, or signatures. It contains 65 leaves; and in chapters xvi, xvii, some leaves have been pasted over others, containing different matter from the cancelled leaves. This appears, on slightly separating the one from the other. I believe the Museum copy, which was formerly in the library of Henry VII., to be unique.—*Idem*, p. 27.

To this may be added a peculiarity in the letter in which this book is printed. It has one letter grafted upon another, as *de* and *ho*: together forming one letter. The foundry of this type is unknown. It probably came from beyond the seas. Altogether the opinion of typographical experts is conclusive and final, that William de Machlinia printed *The Monk of Evesham*. Probably therefore the approximate date of its appearance in print may be fixed at about 1482.

7. The Narrative itself is very much older: though we cannot tell by how many years. It was probably not written earlier than its ostensible date; 1196 A.D. By whom is unknown. Neither am I aware of its present existence in MS. An abridgement of it however is found in Roger de Wendover's *Flowers of History*,<sup>1</sup> under the year 1196.

<sup>1</sup> ii. 148-164. Ed. 1849.

Roger de Wendover, in Buckinghamshire, was a Monk of St. Albans, who died on 6 May 1237. His *Flowers of History* is a compilation down to the year 1235, and is, for the period of the Author's lifetime, a piece of contemporary and original history. There seems therefore no escape from the belief that the ostensible date of the *Revelation* is the true date of its composition: and with this opinion there is no internal inconsistency in the work itself. Therefore 'the king of Ingland' with his forgetful sons, with his 'auowtrie,' and undue taxation would be Henry II.

But however precise and particular the information may be as to the Invisible condition of things; there is generally a studied absence of all indications of place or individuals in this world. It would be hard perhaps to separate the Author's self-delusion from his illuding of others, or to fix the exact proportion of fact to fiction in the whole Narrative. But there is no doubt that, despite the disclaimer 'this vision, not to be of man's conceit,' that it is a Middle Age work of Religious Fiction. And this too, more as an individual speculation than as an authoritative dogma: for the doctrine of Purgatory was not finally sanctioned until the Council of Florence, in 1438.<sup>1</sup>

This impression is further confirmed by inconsistencies as to the Narrator. Sometimes he is one of the Priors of the Monastery,<sup>2</sup> at other times, it is the Ecstatic himself;<sup>3</sup> who writes the *Revelation*, adding thereunto circumstances that occurred after his recovery from his trance.<sup>4</sup> This confusion in construction while it tells in the narration of the immediate story in hand, tends to prove the fictional character of the Work. The *Revelation* itself is the product of a strong mind, and is—the age, knowledge, and circumstances taken into account—a piece of remarkable Invention as regards the ordering of the unseen World: and of righteous Judgment and fearless Denunciation of the sins and wrongdoings of the present State.

The Author was probably an Englishman, and wrote 'in thys gronde of inglonde,'<sup>5</sup> using the English of his time. The orthography and punctuation may have somewhat suffered at the hands of subsequent scribes or the foreign printer, until they certainly now form a villainous text: but the inditement is worthy of even so great a subject. It is rapid, clear, unhesitating, unhalting: except where all expression fails, when stretched out towards the expression of the immeasurable. Yet even then, immensity, whether of space or number, of woe or happiness, is not inadequately foreshadowed. There is great craft and subtlety in producing *vraisemblance*—despite inconsistent narration—by innumerable graphic touches, circumstantial details, and natural dialogues: all tending to give a sense of strong reality to things to us impalpable and invisible. In this clear conception helping a

<sup>1</sup> S. Edgar, *The Variations of Poetry*, ii. 453. Ed. 1838.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 15, 19, 20, 26, 28, 111.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 39, 46, 76, 82, 98, 99, 111.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 54, 70, 71.

<sup>5</sup> p. 70.

direct and apt expression we trace one part of the Author's mental power.

8. We have in this Book, a Story as distinct from a Revelation. The Story is laid in the monastic circle at Evesham Abbey. The Revelation tells us of a Journey. It is the pilgrimage of the Soul from Death through Purgatory and Paradise to Heaven.

9. Purgatory has no existence. It is an elaborate lie. Scripture teaches unmistakably the instantaneous translation of the Soul of Man from the Body into the presence of the Saviour in Heaven, 'Absent from the body, present with the Lord.'

It is in the craving to lift up the veil which God in His merciful Providence has put between us and our future life in the invisible world, in this seeking to become wise, 'above that which is written,' 'in which,' to use the language of this *Revelation*, 'the feeble ignorance of good people oftentimes offendeth,' that these good men of old elaborated out of their own humanity, from their own consciousness of bodily sensation, that same Theory of bodily Agony, into a state into which our mortal bodies *can not* enter, which is a distinctive characteristic of nearly all idolatry and false religions; and the utter absence of which in the Old and New Testaments is an inverse proof of their Truth and Divine Authorship.

For instance, what difference is there in detail between the representation of a Buddhist hell, as for example that depicted in the Joss-house of Tinghai, in the island of Chusan; and that of Purgatory in this old English Monk's conceptions of what might be beyond the grave.

The kings of hell sit in judgment like Chinese mandarins. The executioners are braying the victims in mortars, boiling them in furnaces, and skinning them with knives, throwing them to tigers, squeezing them between boards, cutting them up and hanging the bits on hooks, beating them with mallets, tormenting them with hot irons, all represented in coloured plaster groups with a horrible fidelity of detail, and with an ingenuity of conception as to the instruments employed, which would argue that the Buddhist priests are no contemptible mechanics, and that it is well for the barbarians they are not employed in the invention of warlike *tormentaria*. *G. W. Cooke, 'The Times' Special Correspondent in China in 1857-58. p. 138. Ed. 1858.*

10. We must however try and occupy the standpoint of the Author. With a patient, an elastic faith, we must accept, for the nonce, as currently believed truths; the existence of Purgatory, the advocacy and consequent worship of saints, the continuance of miracles, the occurrence of visions, and the like. Further, we must look out on society as the Author did. What a picture of national declension in spiritual life has he put into the mouth of St. Nicholas.

Knowest this monk that thou seest; he served and pleased God full well in his life with great cleanness of heart and chastity of body; and much evil the which should have been done in the place where he was, he letted and was against it. For he was fervent in zeal of righteousness, and hating evil of heart, wherefore many reproofs oftentimes patiently he suffered for the

defence and honesty of his religion, and specially of them which wear the habit of religion upon them, for that intent that they might destroy the virtuous living and conversation of religion, full busily serving not their spirit but the wretchedness of their flesh and the world, in the monasteries of spiritual and ghostly living. And alas! for sorrow, for now by such persons the special worship and honour that Holy Church was of before, is almost brought to nought, while the multitude of carnal and worldly men increase above number, whom the fewness of spiritual men suffering, choosing rather to dissemble and not to know their evil, and so to rest themselves, than by their blaming and resisting, [to] stir and move against them the wrath and troublous hastiness of such evil-disposed persons. And though they so do, yet they cannot be sure from the spies and frauds of them. And as sometime Ishmael, that was born carnally, pursued Isaac, that was born spiritually, that is to say, by a spiritual promise of Almighty God, likewise it is now. For carnal folk be full grievous to spiritual people, because they cannot pervert them to their forwardness; also many there be that greatly it is to sorrow the which in their living began spiritually, but by process of time either they be overcome by unstableness or else be deceived by simpleness, and also they fall down from their purpose and beginning into the miserable and wretched corruption and slothfulness of this world, enticed and drawn by the examples and counsels of evil-disposed persons. Truly, these great hurts of religious living, the which before in the time of fathers, full nobly flowered and shone as a heavenly light, full greatly beholdeth the prelates of Holy Church in these days, that knowing this and despising it, insomuch that they understood not themselves, that it is so with them. They knew verily what thing they be come to, but they [know not] what thing they should have come to, because that they be come to the lust and pleasure of this world, but they should have come to the following of Christ's poverty, and to the cark and diligent keeping of their cure, that is, the people of God committed to them. And therefore that they seek and that they care. For that they be come to and that they have. The people of God they feed not but destroy, and them, peradventure, that they have turned from righteousness they slay spiritually and lose, for their conforming to them not shewing themselves fathers and pastors, but wolves and thieves. Truly the promoting of such persons, kings, and bishops, and other great men, procure and gete, and their subjects full much look thereafter, not being rectors and fathers, but pervertors and destroyers of their souls, the which thinking that all thing that is under them that liketh is lawful, [is] why by the righteous judgment of God be realms troubled and churches confounded, and the state of earthly folk subverted. And for such demeaning they be accused of God, the which should be devout and meek intercessors to God, both for them that be alive, and for them that be dead, by whose merits and prayers, specially the welfare of all Christendom, might be preserved and increased, and all evil far put away from the people of God.

—p. 89.

So that to the Author, brooding over this, it may also have been in like continual pain to his 'young man . . . a Monk;' animated with a fervent piety and deep spiritual aspirations; that to him, 'a thought fell into my mind that I should pray our Lord God that he would vouchsafe to reveale and show to me in some manner of wise, the state of the world that is to come and the condition of the souls that be past their bodies after this life; and then this openly known, I might the better vnderstand, what within short space as I supposed were to be dread and what I might hope after when I should pass from this world to that world: and so by this to establish myself in the dread and love of God as long as I should live in this doubtful life.'<sup>1</sup>

Thus the *Revelation*—with probably some of the self-illusion common to enthusiasts—is written in good faith on the Author's

part, that by the terrors of the Purgatorial Journey, men might be awed into well-doing.

11. From the explanation of such words, as 'fermorye'<sup>1</sup> and 'colloke'<sup>2</sup> 'fugytytuys,'<sup>3</sup> it would appear that the work was specially intended for not so much the religious persons as the laity at large.

12. It is such a book as John Bunyan might have written, had he lived five centuries earlier, and been, as probably he would have become, a Monk. Only, that the Author intended no such pleasant allegory, setting forth the progress of Christian life; but the making manifest of those unfailing realities, of that inevitable doom that was coming upon all, except the irretrievably lost.

13. There is a three-fold thread in this *Gesta Purgatoris*. The natural story of the Ecstatic; the omniscient history of the Characters, much after the manner of the *Gesta Romanorum*; and the supernatural Construction of the invisible world on this side of Heaven, the peculiar product of the Author.

The unweaving of these three strands is not possible within our present limits.

(1.) The Trance of the sick novice is told with great vividness and circumstantiality.

(2.) The even-handed justice among the Characters is most notable. It scathes all, but not alike, from the king of England seated on horseback in burning armour 'as it were as bright iron is when it is beaten with hammers and smiteth out fiery sparkles'<sup>4</sup> 'for the unrightful shedding of mens blood and for adultery,' and is further upbraided by devils 'because he would be avenged on men that slew his ventry, as hart and hind, buck and doe, and such other, which by the law of kind ought to be slain to every man, and therefore some of them he put to death or else cruelly would maim them:' down to the poor man's wife whom 'gladly I beheld there in light pains.'<sup>5</sup>

Again, what courage has the Author, when remarking upon the few priests he saw in Purgatory, he adds "Truly then I thought to myself that full few priests were there found, of the great number that is of them in all the world that had deserved pains after their death, for breaking their chastity. And to this it was so answered, 'Wherefore it is no doubt that the great multitude of them be utterly damned.'<sup>6</sup> In like manner: through all degrees of the Hierarchy. Those who flourished in prosperity in the Spirituality being grieved in a more special bitterness of pains above other.'<sup>7</sup>

(3.) What then is the plan of this minor English Dante?

The construction of this Purgatory is circular and on a plain. Heaven is conceived as the Centre, surrounded like rings, by 'fields' of pleasure or pain. The vast Circumference is the Death point in Human Life. So the Soul is represented as going

<sup>1</sup> p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> p. 82.

<sup>7</sup> p. 38.

inward and yet more inward, as it were along a radius,—across the three ‘fields’ of Pains, then the ‘field’ of Paradise to the gate of Heaven. The Narration sometimes looks backward: but the Characters described as met with, will be seen under each Place of Pains on *p.* 2.

The principle of Purgatory is thus given :

Full seldom it is in these days in which almost all conditions of all men [are] gone out of kind, for the pure simplicity and innocentness of the very Church of God, that any man living in this life keepeth or recovereth fully the equity and purity of the holy Gospel, the which till a man fulfill he may not dwell in heavenly places, neither shall rest in the Mount and Hill of Paradise of joy and bliss. Wherefore whatsoever thing of sin and uncleanness, contrary to equity and righteousness, cleaveth and resteth on the Souls that pass hence out of this world it shall be purged in another world and so by their penance the way and path of a joyful resting shall be showed to them that be purged and cleansed and so then in places of rest, the entering of heaven and everlasting bliss full largely shall be opened to those souls for the perfect desire that they shall have there to see God.

Soothly this only must be taken of those sins which by their light quality or else by confession and satisfaction done for them be granted of God to be changed and counted among venial sins. For as touching those sins that be deadly and were not in this world by the remedy of confession and penance made light and venial, it is without doubt that a man shall be so presented in his judgement in the world that is to come as he is found in his living when he passeth out of this world.<sup>1</sup>

The Progression of Purgatory is represented on this wise.

Furthermore this general condition of all folk that die I knew there openly. That all people the which be ordained to perceive rest and bliss before the day of dooms had evermore from the first hour of their death their pains less and less: but if it were so, that any of them had left to other that had lived after, by evil example, occasion of sin the which righteously they might know it them that did so before, and while they did no satisfaction to God for it before their death, whereby such occasion of sinning left to other should have been forgiven them: also they that grievously offended by the which they deserved everlasting damnation;—began to go from full bitter pains to worse; and so by succeeding of their pains dayly, their torments busily increasing, that every day following is more grievous to them than was the day before.<sup>2</sup>

This however is varied in individual cases, by the presence or absence of hope.

Soothly there is no thing so grievous to them that be in pains as the uncertainty of their deliverance and also there is no thing that so much as swageth the pains and sorrows of others, as doth a very hope and faithful trust, the which they knew, and have by our Lord’s mercy to be delivered.<sup>3</sup>

From the Darknes, the Horror, and the Agony we gladly turn towards Paradise. It is our Author’s counterpart to Bunyan’s ‘Land of Beulah.’ In his rapturous welcome of it, no less than the absence of any sympathy on his part with the Suffering he had witnessed, we trace the true piety of the Author. A man to whom ‘the melody of Singing Lauds to God’ amid the ‘Mansions of the Blessed’ was inestimably joyous, was himself ‘not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.’ Whatever criticism we may bestow upon the conception and execution of the *Revelation*: we cannot but believe the Author to have been a spiritual-minded Man, doing what, in that dark Age, he thought to be a Christian work.

The transition is gradual.

And as we went farther, there began to appear a little and a little, more and more, a full faire light unto us, and withal break out a full pleasant sweet

1 *p.* 72.

2 *p.* 70.

3 *p.* 78.

savour. And anon after we came to a field the which was full of all manner of fair and pleasant flowers that gave to us an incredible and inestimable comfort of joy and pleasure. Soothly in this field we saw and found infinite thousands of Souls fall jocund and merry in a full sweet rest after their penance and after their purgation And them that we found first in the beginning of that field were not very bright neither well shining Notwithstanding they had no spot of blackness or any uncleanness on them as it seemed, save this, as I said before, they were not very bright shining white.<sup>1</sup>

And as we went more inward and farther into that joyful place of paradise we had evermore a clear light and felt a sweeter savour and those that we found and saw there were whiter and more glad than were other that we saw before. And whereto should I tary here now to number those persons and their merits whom I saw there. that I knew sometime before in the world, and those also that I knew not before. For all that were there in that place, were ordained to be the citizens of the high and everlasting Jerusalem; and all had past the strife and battle of this world, and were victors of devils; and so lightly they went through all pains, as they were less cumbered and held by wretched living and worldly vices.<sup>2</sup>

Then comes the most striking Vision of our Lord's Passion. After which the Journey continues.

Truly I followed evermore my duke and leadsman Saint Nicholas, that went forth farther and farther, repleated now with great joy among the full bright and light mansions of blessed souls. And the whiteness of them that were here in this place and the sweatness of savour and also the melody of singing lauds to God were inestimable and scarcely to man's understanding credible.<sup>3</sup>

At last, the Gate of Heaven comes in sight.

At the last we saw afar a full glorious wall of Crystal whose height no man might see and length no man might consider. And when we came thither I saw withinforth a full fair bright shining gate and it stood open, save [that] it was signed and laid over with a Cross. Truly thither came flockmell the multitude of those blessed souls that were next to it, and would come in at that fair gate. The Cross was set in the midst of that gate and now it was lift up on high and so gave to them that came thither an open and a free entering and so shut other out that would have come in, afterward it was let down again, and so withheld. . . . But what brightness and clearness of light was there withinforth all about let no man ask nor seek of me for I cannot only not tell it by word but also I cannot remember it in mind. . . . And withinforth nothing I might see but light and the wall of crystal through which we came. And also from the ground up to the top of that wall were steps ordered and disposed fair and marvellously, by which the joyful company that was come in at the foresaid gate gladly ascended up. At the last as I looked up higher I saw in a Throne of Joy sitting our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in likeness of a man. And about him as it seemed to me were a five hundred souls which late had stied up to that glorious Throne, and so they came to our Lord and worshipped him and thanked him, for his great mercy and grace showed and done to them.

And some were seen on the upper parts of the wall as they had walked hither and thither.<sup>4</sup>

That was all he saw. He knows it was not the 'high heavens of heavens.' It was but the Gate of Heaven. It filled him with ineffable joy. But the time of his return had come. St. Nicholas turns him back, saying " 'Now thou must go again to thyself and to thine, and to the world's fighting. Truly thou shalt have and perceive the joys that thou hast seen and much more; if thou continue and prefevere in the dread of God.' And when he had said this to me he brought me forth through the same gate that we came in, wherefore full heavy and forry was I and more than a man may suppose, for well I knew that I must

1 p. 98.

2 p. 104.

3 p. 106.

4 p. 107.

turn again, from that heavenly blifs to this world's wretchedness."1

14. We have now a touch, which rivals even Bunyan's famous look through the gates of the Celestial City.

The Monk, sad to the heart, is without the Gate, with his back upon it and the Cryftall Wall. "And while the Holy Confeffor Saint Nicholas on this wife fpake yet with me : fuddenly I heard there a folemn Peal and a ringing of a marvelous fweetnefs, and as all the bells in the world or whatfoever is of founding had been rung together at once. Truly in this peal and ringing break out alfo a marvellous fweetnefs ; a variant meddling of melody founded withall. And I wot not whether the greatnefs of melody, or the fweetnefs of the founding of bells were more to be wondered at. And to fo great a noife I took good heed and full greatly my mind was fufpended to hear it.' Soothly anon as that great and marvelous founding and noife was ceafed ; fuddenly I faw myfelf departed from the fweat fellowfhip of my duke and leader Saint Nicholas. Then was I returned to myfelf again."2

That Solemn Peal and marvelloufly Sweet ringing of the Bells ringing in the Eaſter morn of Heaven, fo graphically deſcribed that we ſeem to hear them, is a crowning invention in the Viſion.

15. Thus imperfectly we have introduced the Reader to the unique printed book and to its contents. A full analyſis of the text we muſt leave to others : merely ſuggeſting *inter alia*, we were going to ſay, its comparative Mythology : at all events its compariſon with other works in the cycle of Purgatorial literature. As but to mention but a few. The viſit to Purgatory of DRITHELM in 696 as recorded by Bede,<sup>3</sup> or according to Roger de Wendover DRICHTHELM in 699 :<sup>4</sup> of the Emperor CHARLES<sup>5</sup> in 885 : of the Knight OWEN who viſited the purgatory of St. Patrick in 1153 :<sup>6</sup> of TURCHILL the labourer 'of Tunſted in the biſhopric of London' in 1206.<sup>7</sup> With theſe to compare *The Viſions of Tundale*,<sup>8</sup> and Robert de Brune's *Handlyng Synne* :<sup>9</sup> and the like.

We, for our part, have had good hap ; if we have ſhown, that beneath an uncouth text there is a direct diction and power both of Mind and Soul : that there is much that is true but ſimply diſtorted ; with much that is ludicrous and purely falſe : and that in all, undeniably, the beſt of motives and aspirations. With the infinitely greater advantages of the preſent day : how many of us would be inferior, man for man, to that unknown Monk, who, ſeven centuries ago, dreamt or imagined that he ſaw 'A marvellous Revelation ſhewed by Almighty God ;' and wrote it down for the inſtruction, warning, and comfort of his fellow-Engliſhmen.

1 p. 109.

2 p. 110.

7 *Idem. ii.* 221-235.

3 *Eccles. Hiſt.* Bk. v. c. 12. pp. 253-8. Ed. 1847.

8 Ed. by W. B. D. D. Turnbull. Edinburgh 1843.

4 *Flowers of Hiſtory*, i. 120-124.

9 Ed. by F. J. Furnival, M.A. London 1862.

Ed. 1849.

5 *Idem. i.* 217.

6 *Idem. ii.* 510-521.



15  
**The prologe of this reuelacion.**



He reuelacion that foloweth here in this boke tretyth how a certeyn deuowt person the wiche was a monke in the abbey of Euishamme was rapte in spirite by the wille of god and ladde by the hand of seint Nycholas the space of. ii. days and. ii. nyghtes to see and knowe the peynys of purgatorye and the iowys of paradyse and in what state the fowlis ware that ware in purgatorye and also in paradyse. Sothly in bothe this placis he sawe and knewe many persons bothe men and women the whiche he knewe welle before when they lyuyd in thys world and spake with hem there mowthe to mowith in bothe the placys as he founde hem as hit folowth wele aftir in this boke. This reuelacion was not shewed to hym only for hym butte also for the confort and profetyng of all cristyn pepulle that none man shuld dowte or mystruste of anothis life and world the whiche euery man and woman mooste go to and lyke as they deserue here in this world by here lyuyng so there to be rewardyd. And as for the trowth of this reuelacyon no man nother woman ought to dowte in any wise. for and a man wele rede and vnderstonde the begynnyng with the ending he shalle so largely see hit approuyd in grete myraclis by almyghty god shewyd vnto the same person that same tyme that alle resons and mocions of infydelite the whiche risith often tymes of manns sensualite shalle vtwardly be excludyd and quenched and gretely shalle cause alle crysten pepulle that herith hit to drede god and loue hym and also to preyse

hym in hys werkys. for feche anothir reuelacion and fo opyn y trowe was neuer shewid in this lond ne in no nothir that we rede of.

¶ Here endyth this prologge.

¶ Here begynne the chapitres of this reuelacyon.

¶ Howe this monke fyl in to a fore and greuys sekeneſe and gaue hym to confeſſion and prayur and compunccion of teeris—————Chapitur I [p. 19]

¶ Howe he laye alſo proſtrate in the chaptur howſe as though he had ben dedde—————ij [p. 21]

¶ Howe the feigure of oure lordys croſſe that he worſhipte was fonde bloody—————iii [p. 22]

¶ How he was comme ageyne to him ſelfe iiii [p. 23]

¶ Howe he ſought aſtyr hys ſtaffe and his ſhewys and how deuoutly he worſhipte the croſſe——v [p. 24]

¶ Howe he told to a brother that he louyd wele a part of feche thynges as he had ſeyne——vi [p. 26]

¶ Howe he was deſired of his bretheren to ete ſumwhat aſtyr ſo longe a faſte—————vii [p. 27]

¶ Howe he told to ii of his confeſſours a part of thoſe thynges that he had ſeyne—————viii [p. 28]

¶ what was his peticion ſpecially and howe a certeyn perſon apperyth to hym—————ix [p. 28]

¶ Howe he was warnyd in his ſlepe to worſhippe the croſſe of owre lorde—————x [p. 30]

¶ How the ſame croſſe bledd don to hym at the ryght ſyde and at the right foote and of the. ij. lyghtys—————xi [p. 31]

¶ Howe he came yn to chaptur howſe and toke dyſciplinys and how he was rapte—————xii [p. 32]

¶ how he felte hym ſelfe here rapte fyrſt——xiiij [p. 33]

¶ how he ſolowd hys leder ſent Nycolas when he was rapte—————xiiij [p. 35]

¶ how ſent Nycolas broughte hym to the fyrſte place of purgatorie—————xv [p. 36]

¶ Of the grete diuerſyte of peynys yat he ſaw——xvi [p. 39]

- ¶ Of the fecunde place of peynys in purgatory—xvij [p. 40]
- ¶ How sent Margaret delyuerd a fowle of a synfulle woman fro the deuylls—xviij [p. 42]
- ¶ Of a goldefmyth that was fauyd by sent Nycholas—xix [p. 46]
- ¶ How thys monke know there fyrst that sent nycholas was hys leder—xx [p. 48]
- ¶ How the same goldefsmith tolde the monke in purgatorye how he dyde sodenly and was fauyd xxi [p. 48]
- ¶ How the goldefmyth tolde the monke a remedye agenst soden deth—xxij [p. 51]
- ¶ How the sone of this goldefmyth tolde the monke aftyr he was comme to hym selfe ageyne that hys fadyr had apperyd. iii. to hys moder aftyr hys deth—xxiiij [p. 54]
- ¶ Of the thirde place of peynys in purgatorie.—xxiiii [p. 56]
- ¶ Of the fowle vyce and synne of fodemytis—xxv [p. 58]
- ¶ Of a doctour a lawe that was a fodemyte xxv [j] [p. 60]
- ¶ Of thoes persons that this monke sawe and spake within the first place of peynys and first with a prior—xxvii [p. 65]
- ¶ Of an ances that he sawe and knewe in the same place—xxviii [p. 69]
- ¶ Of a certen bisshoppe there also—xxix [p. 70]
- ¶ Of a certen woman a pore mannys wyf—xxx [p. 71]
- ¶ Of relygyous men what peynys they soffryd for dyuers certen sawtys—xxxi [p. 73]
- ¶ Of a certen knight that brake a vowe—xxxii [p. 74]
- ¶ Of a nothir knight—xxxiii [p. 75]
- ¶ Of thoes persons that he sawe in the ii placys of peynys—xxxiiiij [p. 76]
- ¶ Of thre bysshoppis that were there—xxxv [p. 77]
- ¶ Of an archbisshoppe of canturbery—xxxvi [p. 79]
- ¶ A certen descripcion that the monke made of dyuers kyndys of synful peple and of her peynys—xxxvii [p. 82]
- ¶ Of poyfynners that he sawe—xxxviii [p. 83]

¶ Of vserers also—————	xxxix	[p. 84]
¶ Of fugytyuys of relygyon—————	xl	[p. 84]
¶ Of a certen kyng of Englonde—————	xli	[p. 84]
¶ Of a b[i]sshoppe that was in peynys of purgatorye and yette god shewed for hym myracles in thys world—————	xlii	[p. 86]
¶ Of a certen abbot—————	xliiii	[p. 87]
¶ Of an abbasse also—————	xliiii	[p. 91]
¶ Of two nonnys that were lepurs—————	xlvi	[p. 92]
¶ Of a knight that offendyd in symony—	xlvi	[p. 93]
¶ Of a monke a sextenne—————	xlvii	[p. 95]
¶ Of a clerke that leuyd holylye—————	xlviii	[p. 97]
¶ Of paradyse and of the multitude of pepulle that he fownde there—————	xlix	[p. 98]
¶ Howe he sawe a certen abboth there—————	l	[p. 99]
¶ Of a certen Priour that lyuyd deuoutely and dyde holylye—————	li	[p. 101]
¶ Of a certen yong monke of hys—————	lii	[p. 103]
¶ Of a certen worshipful priste—————	liii	[p. 104]
¶ Howe owre lordys passion was representyd amonge the holy fowlys that ware in paradyse	liiii	[p. 105]
¶ Of the entryng at the gate of paradyse and of the ioye that apperyd wythinforthe—————	lv	[p. 107]
¶ Howe this monke came agayne throwe the gate of paradyse—————	lvi	[p. 109]
¶ Of the swete melodye of bellys that he herd in paradyse and how he came to him selfe ageyne—————	lvii	[p. 110]
¶ Approfe how this reuelacyon is of god and mozte nedys be trewe for the grete myraclys that god shewyd on hym that same tyme—————	lviii	[p. 111]

¶ **Expliciunt capitula.**

**I** Here begynneth a meruelous reuelacion that was schewyd of almyghty god by sent Nicholas to a monke of Euysshamme yn the days of kynge Richard the fyrst And the yere of owre lord. M. C. Lxxxvi. **I** Ca primum.



**I**N a Monasterye callyd Euyssham there was a certen yong man turnyd wyth feythfull deuocyon fro thys worldys vanyte to the lyfe of a Monke the whiche abowte the begynnyng of hys conuersion fylle yn to a grete and a greuys fekenes and by the space of. xv. monthys was fore labouryd with gret febulnes and wekenes of body. Also hys stomake abhortyd so gretly mete and drynke that sum tyme by the space of. ix. days or more he myght resceyue noo thyng but a lytyl warme watyr. And what sum euer thyng of leche crafte or sefyke any manne dedde to hym for hys conforte or hys amende-ment noo thyng hym helpyd but al turnyd contrarye Therefore he lay seke yn his bedde gretly destitute of bodely strenght. so that he myght not moue hym selfe fro one place to anothis butte by helpe of seruantes. Alsoo yn thre the laste monethys of hys fekenesse he was more forer dyseasyd and feblyd than euer he was before. Neuerthelesse than commyng on the feste of estur. sodenly he beganne sum what to amende yn hys bodely myghtys and with hys staffe walkyd aboute the fermorie. Sothly on thes euynd of scherethurfdaye in the whiche nyght the office and seruice of our lord ihesu cryste ys tradicion and passion was solenly songe wyth grete deuocion. he wente wyth hys staffe to the chyrche wyth his bretheren the whiche by cause of fekenesse rested hem also with hym in the fermorie were the couent nyghtly seruice and laudes offerd vppe

to our lord And there by the respecte of heuynly grace fo grete conpuncion and fwetenes he rescyued that hys holy deuocion excedyd mesure. Wherefore he myght not conteyne hym fro wepyng and laudyng god fro mydnyght tyl sex of the belle yn the mornyng. what for remembryng wyth worshippe and ioye the merceis of owre lord. the whiche had doon for mankynde. And also remembryng wyth fore wepyng hys offencys and fynns doon by fore tyme. And the hurte and the flate of hys present imperfeccion. And abowte sex the belle yn the mornyng he made to be called to hym. ii. of his bretheren one after a nothyr. whiche hadd powr to here confessyons and gyue to penitentes absolucion and to them bothe made purely and holy as mekylle as he cowde hys confession of al hys fynns and of the left offence of hys religion or of the commawndementys of god and wyth grete contricion of herte and effusion of terys desired hys absolucion and had hyt Than on of them askyd hym why he forowde and wepte so imoderately for al they had went yat he schulde fele hym selfe sone to passe owte of this worlde. Than he seyde he felte hym selfe no thyng so Sothly than he tolde to his brother yat diligently enquiryde this of hym and seyde Sir ye schal vnderstonde and know that thys laste night whenne we were to gedyr in chaptur howse. y resceyuyd fo grete fweteneffe of herte and gladnesse of fowle. that onne this y myghte hoolde or bere my selfe. He askyd also and hyt were by the relygion that the priowrs shuld geue that nyght to the bretheren dyscyplynys in hooly vesture and aubys. And whenne he herd hym enquiryre this he hadde wente that he had feyd hyt of grete febulnesse of his hedde. or by alyenacion of hys mynde. the whiche perauenture he hadde falle in by his infirmyte and imoderate weping or fastyng howe be hit that he with hym had meruailous wifdam and discrecion al the tyme of hys sekeneffe. wherefore he commendyd hym to our lord no thing els enquiryng of hym and so went his weye The seke brother spendyd

al that daye in laudyng and presyng god And the next night folowing after he hadde slepte a lityll while rose vp of his bed And when the chaptur was ronge as the tyme requyred to calle the couent to matens. he went than to chirche as he did the daye before Sothely how he behauyd hym thenne in the chirche. and whan he went thens hit shalle be schewyd in his wordys foloyng

**¶** Howe he laye prostrate al his body in the chaptur hows as he had be dedde. **¶** Ca ii



**O**N the morow nexte foloyng that ys good fredaye whenne the couent rose to cum to chirche to feye prime. as they ede afore the chaptur hous they sawe the same seke brother lye prostrate and bare foote before the abbottis fete hois face was flate to the ground as though he shuld by the ordyr aske mercy of euery presydent. Than the bretheren seyng this meruely and rane thedir and willing to take hym vp. they founde hym as a man lyfeles without any mocyon of any membre of his body. Trewly his yes ware falle doun depe into his heed and tho yes and nose of him ware blody or as a manne had ouyr leyde hem with mekyl bloode. wherfore they seyde alle that he was dede. His feete ware ful coolde but in the remuande of his body was found a lytyl warmenes No mouing of his pypys might be knowen long tyme And at the last onnethis bit was perseyuyd in him a litill thynne breth and amouyng of his herte. Thenne they weshid his heedde breste handys and feete with colde watyr And than first they sawe al hys body a lityl to tremyl and quake. but anoon he sefyd and was infensybulle So long tyme they musyd and dowtyd what they might do to hym. whyle they sawe hym not verily dedde. nothyr any thing amendyng. At the last by conselle they had him to his bedde and there to be kepte with grete attendans of kepers.

¶ Of the bloody figure of the crosse. ¶ Ca iii



He mene whyle the bretheren merueled and wondred on fuche a soden happe and beyng of the seke brother and more they wondrid. howe hyt happyd. and yn what wyse wythowte any helpe he myght comme thedyr to that place. where the couent was Sothely othyr thyngys that now foloyn the whyche y schal telle of. wythowte any comparfone ben more to be dred feryd and worshipte than any thyng aboue feyd. They herde anone aftyr and that not wythowte grete meruelle. that the fygure of owre lordys body affyxed on a crosse whyche fygure and crosse. yerly ys wonte ful deuowtely to be kyffyd and worshipte of the couent yn remembrance of owre lordys passion was founde fresch bledyng and newe abowte the place of the grete wounde yn the ryght fyde and also at the ryght foote. Trewly afore lente the sextense of the chyrche. had let done the same crosse to the grownd and so tyl good fredaye they hadd leste hyt betwyxe the auter and the walle. And for a more wondyr the staffe and schewys of the same seke brother ware fondyn by the same place Sothely than all the brethirne came to gedyr in to the chaptur hows gretly afonyd apou these thyngys that befylle. and auysment takyn alle that were there wyth grete contricion of herte toke discyplynys of roddy and lyyng prostrate yn the chirche seyden wepyngly the .vii. salmys of penanse. for to gete owre lordys mercye. Trewly thys seke brother all yat daye whiche was gode freday with the nyght fologyng and the nexte day aftyr all mooste tyl the sonne sette. contynewde yn one state. Also the bretheren wyth streng[t]h of handys opynde hys mowth and caste yn hyt iustys of dyuers spycys and herbis for hys releuyng. but anone after he wente owte ageyne. what somme euer was putte in to hys mowthe as though hys throte hadde ben stopped. Emplasters alsoo to his breste and arms



they bonde but alle was vayne. They prickyd with neldys and scrapyd the solys of hys fete. but no thyng myght be perceyuyd in hym of a lyuys manne. faue a lityll rednes of chekys and a lityll warmenes of body. The colowre of hys face oftyn tymes was chaunged to ashis and ageyne meruaylously the colowre of hys face was reuyuyd and welle shewyd. Alsoo they made a grete horne to be blowyn there but no thyng hit botyd.

**¶** Nowe he came ageyn to hym self on yestur  
 cun abowte complen tyme. Ca iiii



**T**Henne on the morowe that ys estur eun and the same owre that the couent came to gedyr to the collacion and to complenne the briys of hys ye lyddys beganne firste a lityll to moue and so they femyd as they hadde ben sode in boylng watyr. And atte last there came don fro hys yes on hys chekys a yelowe humour of watyr in manere of terys. Thanne they that were wyth hym feyng thys. called anone for the bretheren. supposyng that he shuld haue sone passed fro thys world. They sawe also a lityll afore thys tyme hys lypys a lityll to moue with his chekys compressyd as he had resceyued or swelowde sum swete thing fallyn in to hys mowth. And after that a flowyng owte of terys as hyt is seyde here before. Alsoo he was feyn often and many diuers tymys fykyng alow in his breste as a manne slepyng had wepte. And anone after as hit femyd he reuoluyd certeyn wordys benethe in hys throte butte he myght not speke them owte faue onely in a voyce onethys audybille and noo thyng intelligibile. Sothely thanne hys spyrite beganne a lityll and a lityll to come ageyne and these wordys and voyce he first fownd that might be vnderstonde. *O sancta Maria O sancta Maria:* And agayne *O my lady sancta Maria O my lady sancta Maria* I shalle feye tho wordys as I herde them noo thyng addyng therto *O* he seyde my

lady *Sancta Maria*. These wordes often tymys he reherfed. For what fynne he seyde lese y foo grete ioye. And agayne he seyde my Lady *Sancta Maria*. wher shalle I recouere so grete ioye that y lese nowe. These thynges and many other often tymes he reherfed / yet as a man ware a slepe and hys thyes euer clofyd / the whiche I wote not of what grete ioye he forowde and wepte hym selfe departyd fro Sothely aftyrward sodenly lyke as a man had awaked fro a grete slepe. he lyfte vppe hys hed and fulbitterly beganne to wepe and with rennyng terys sorofully sobbyd as wepyng doth and ioynnyng his handys and fyngers to gedur reyfid him self and fate vp . Then he put downe his hed in his handys on his kneys And as he beganne afore ful lamentably to wayle and forowe so sefyd not long tyme aftyr Thanne one of his bretheren that was with hym askyd what causyd hym so fore to wepe and howe he felte hym selfe. Than he restid a litil while and at the laste softely seyde to hym wele wele and verely wele y was hedir to/ but now euyl and verely euyl y am and fele my selfe And ageyne more grettur he wepte and sorowd than he dyd bifore And by cause that hit ys ouer longe and also as impossible to remembre al thyng that he seyde than and how mekil he wepte we leue nowe and purpose to drawe shortly to gedir tho thingys whiches we herde hym telle of in gret contricion of herte and of mynde aftyrward that he was fully comme to hym selfe ageyne.

**¶** Nowe he sought after his showis and how reuerently he worshipt the crosse.



Sothly amonge his lamentacions and syknynges that the had he asayde with gret strenght onys or twies or thries to opene his yes that were clofid and atte last they opened. Thanne he beganne with bothe his handys al aboute to seche aftyr his staffe that he

leste in the chirce And whanne hyt kowd not be  
 fownde he seyde. Sechith here owre staffe and take  
 owr showys by the piller and goe we ageyne in to the  
 fermorye. A fermorye among religious men is called  
 a place or an howse ordende to kepe seke bretheren.  
 Thanne whanne hit was seyde of some of his bretheren.  
 behoolde brother nowe and see yow in the fermorye and  
 fet in your bedde and loe yowre staffe and showys byn  
 here redy. Thanne he seyde O howe came we hedyr  
 and whanne. were not we ryght nowe in the chirche  
 to gedyr at matens. Thanne his bretheren told hym  
 that he had be there now ii dayes and to morowe wilbe  
 estur daye And whanne he herd this. more grettyr he  
 beganne to wepe and seyde. O shuld we not bretheren  
 haue worshypte on good freday owre lordys crosse  
 And yet we haue not in comonne worshipte hit  
 Thenne whenne he herd of his bretheren. that owre  
 lordys crosse was worshipte the day before. and he  
 might not be cause of sekenes. he seyde to hem.  
 Aftyr that I came into the chirche y felte no difese  
 But y praye yow that y may go to worshipe the  
 crosse. Thanne ther was brought to hym a crosse of  
 feluyr the whiche reuerently he clyppyd to hym. and  
 with coffis and terys watryd the fete of the crosse.  
 and vnto the tedufnes of some stondyng by/ he  
 thankyd owr lord and redemer and the fadyr and the  
 holy gooste for innumerabulle benefetis. of the whyche  
 he reherfyd mony synglerly. for hym selfe and vnyuer-  
 fally for al holy chirche. and also for al degreys and con-  
 dycyons of alle crystyn pepulle and more attente for  
 hys enmyes. yef any there ware or for the enmyes of hys  
 frendys he made meruailous prayers and obsecracyons.  
 And as y suppose xxx tymes or more he inclynde hys  
 hede doone to the fete of the crosse with terys and  
 sobbyng that often tymes his voyce sefid of prayng  
 Thoes wordys the whiche he made in his supplicacions  
 ware so redy and prompte and also repletyd with grete  
 reson and hyeness of witte that hit semyd rathir he redde  
 hem thanne seyde hem. Ho is sweete seyng steryd

mony than that herd hym to weping and deuocyon and euer while we remembre them causyn vs to haue a grete inwarde cumpunctyon. and also loue and deuocyon to our lord to our bretheren and to alle men And of the grete humylyte and goodnes of oure redemer. he put betwene certen grete thingis at euery synguler shorte prayer.

**¶** Nowe he told to one of his bretheren that he louyd famlyarly suche thingys as he had seyn. C vi



He mene while as the tyme requyryd. hit range to the collacyon and the bretheren the whiche had brought to him the crosse went thense And thenne he seyde. Nowe y knowe veryly that this is the holy tyme of estur. And for what cause he seyde so. hit shalbe declaryd aftyrward. Trewely than bode with hym a certeyn brother that louyd hym famlyarly in holy purpose of relygyon and mouyd hym sum what by a wyfe and a meke instans yet beyng holde in a certeyn stupour and wondyr of mynde of suche thinges that he had seyne. bothe of tho thinges the whiche besyll him afore yat he was rapte / and of tho thinges that he had seyn spiritually in anothir world in al placis And as y haue seyde or may sey. synglerly and particularly he tolde and remembrid mony thynges the whiche the forseid brother that herde him bare hem al in his herte. telling him also of tho thinges that he knewe opynly betyd him And so aftirward bi leyser and gret dylygens lernyd and knewe an ordir of euery thing synglerly. more opynner and fullyor than he knewe afore. Neuertheles as for al thing that he sawe in soo longe space that is to seye ii dayes and ii nightys he wolde not telle to no man. And amonge in hys tellyng he made mencyon of some visyons but anon as he had begonne. fesid the proces of them And nothir yet for any prayur might be inducyd to telle any more ther of But nethir we at this tyme be sufficient to telle al thinges the

whiche sothely we knewe by his owne seyng that he had tolde before to a few persons of wytnesse on whois deuocyons he had taken a specyalle truste. Nethir in any wise we may or can reuele and shewe so opynly the purprite of his visions nether by writing nether by telling as he coude and didde Also amonge other thinges he was askid and he hoped to scape his seknes or shulde leue any lenger in this bodely lyfe And then he seide I shal leue long ynow and of my seknes y am fully recoueryd.

**¶ Now he was Desired of his bretheren to take sum mete after so longe a faste. ¶ Ca vii**



Han after this at euyn he was gretly desired to take some mete after so longe a faste And than he seyde Settith before vs the bred and a litil hony that was leste the tothir tyme And whanne hit was so done with a ful litil refeccion ther of he brake his faste Ande so he bode waking in prayor and terys til the howre of night that they range to matens Sothely whan the bretheren rose to matens he went with hem and as he had rose with our lorde the whiche sum tyme that same howre rose fro deth and lyfe And so came to chirche. not withoute ioyful merueling of them that sawe him and without sustentacion or helpe of any thing entrid into the quire and so he did not a xi monthis before. And there in gret deuocyon and terys bode and contynewid til matens was doon and tyl the resurreccion of our lorde the whiche yerely in the same chirche is wont to be shewid vyfybly and howe the angel apperid and spake to the wemen at the sepulture of the victoriose resurreccion of ther king and also that they shulde tel to his disciplys his glorious resurreccion and at the laste til our lord apperyd to his welbelouyd mary mawdelen and named her maria in the figure of a gardner and til the messys ware doone and had resceyuid the holy comyng of cristen men.

**¶** Now he tolde to ii of his confessorys a parte of suche thinges as he had seyne. **¶** Ca viii



**A**fter this nowe that he had rescueyd oure lordys precyous body ioyful and light he was and brought of his bretheren into the colloke the which ys a place where they may speke to geder and there copynily they came abowte hym desiring him to tel hem of seche thinges as besylle hym and as he had feyn for ther goostly edifyng and comfort For al they vndyrstode that herde his wordys the day before when he was fully cumme to him selfe and sawe his contynuall weping that by many thinges grete thingis and meruelus had be shewde him. And whan they with grete instans askid him. he dissymlyd alle thing a lytyl while At the laste vnto his ii confessorys to whom he was confest on shrethursday as hit is feyd afore to hem bothe separatly. he told thees thynges the whiche here after be digestyd and wreten with grete weping and syking the whiche sum tyme sesid him of his telling And sum thinges he told to hem bothe and sum thinges onely vnto the thoon / and sum othir : only to the tothir and that not without a confyderacion of a certen meke and a good auisement And this he gon to telle as hit now folowethe.

**¶** What was his petition specially and how a certen person apperyd to him in his slepe.

**¶** Ca ix



**S**othely he feyde whan y was laborid as ye sawe me with greuys and longe wekenes of body and euermore with herte and fowle y blessyd our lorde and thankid him that he wolde white safe to chaste me onworthy in a fadyrly chastment And than al hope put

aside as for any recoueryng of bodely helth y began  
 though hit were slowly neuertheles y disposed me as y  
 cowde and mighte to make me redy. how y might the  
 sandy and lyghter scape the peynys and sorows of  
 the world that is to cumme and how y might fynde the  
 reste of euerlastyng life when y shuld be callid oute of  
 my body. And when as y remembrid these thinges  
 after my power befely. than after a litil while past  
 a thoughte fyl to my mynde that y shulde praye our  
 lord god that he wolde white safe to reuele and shewe  
 to me in some maner of wise. the state of the worlde  
 that is to come and the condicion of the soulys that byn  
 past her bodyes after this lyfe and thanne this opynly  
 knowen y might the bettyr vnderstonde what within  
 shorte space as y supposyd were to be dred. and what  
 y might hope after whanne y shuld passe fro thys  
 worlde to that worlde and so by this to stabylle my  
 selfe in the drede and loue of god as long as I shuld  
 leue in this doweftulle lyfe. And so on a certeyn night  
 in the begynnyng of lente that ys laste past. apperyd  
 to me in my slepe a certen worshipful person stondyng  
 by me and seyng to me. O sone he seyde gret ys thy  
 deuocyon in praying and mekyl is thy perseuerans  
 wherfore thy contynual prayer and meke demening  
 may not be onspedeful before the presens and goodnes  
 of god Neuertheles fro hens forth be of goode conforte  
 and contynew deuoutly in prayur and for more strenght  
 seche the helpe of prayers of some religious persons.  
 and yef yow so do doutles you shalte knowe yat sone  
 you shalte opteyne and gete thy peticion Sothely than  
 he named to me some persons and the namys of ther  
 offices seyng this / Knowe wele that mekil yt wille the  
 profete. yef yow maye haue the prayers of fuche persons.  
 the whiche the goodnes of god ys wonte right gladly  
 to here. Sende also to the monastery of nonnys here  
 by. that yow knowyft wele and namyd hit / besechyng  
 hem to pray for the. Mekyl god is pleasid in her holy  
 purpose and laudable conuerfacion. wherfore his good-  
 nes gretly fauerth their willes and desires And whan

this was feyd to me. bothe the flepe that y was in and the person that fpake to me went away. Then sodenly y wakyd and stedfastly kepte in mynde this vyfyon. and asone as y might y desired the fame persons to pray for me / not vttering to them the cause wherfore they shulde pray for me Than vi wekis paste. in the night that was nexte afore sherethurfday as ye can remembre. whan y had taken of yow and of youre felowe discyplynys in the chaptur hows. that ys to feye vi of yow and vi of him for that day. and v other for the sexte feriis of lente paste. fro the whiche y was compellyd that tyme to absteyne by cause of sekeneis so grete abundans of grace of terys and sweteneffe of herte / y felte me repletid there in the rescyeuyng of tho discyplynys that y can not shewe it in telling by no wordys. wherfore the nexte day after hit was to me ful swete often tymes to wepe. And than the next nyght after grete fykynges beyng than the houre to ryse to matens y fylle in to a pleasaunt flepe.

**¶ Howe he was warned in his slepe to worshipe the crosse of oure lord.** **¶ Ca x**



**S**othely than as y was a slepe y perceyued a voyce. but y wist not fro whens hyt came. feyng to me in this wyse. Arise vppe and goe in to the chapell. and to the awter that is dedifyed and halowd in the worshipe of seynte laurence and of alle martyres. And there behynd that awter yowe shalte fynde a crosse and an ymage of thy redemer affixed to the same crosse. redemyng the world by hys deth. And that same crosse. mekely and deuowtly go to and kys in remembrance of thy sauyur and offir to hym with meke herte. a sacrifice of prayers knowyng wele. hit to be accept of god. and to the an holfum deuocion. in the whiche yow shalte ful abundantly delyte. Than after this y wakyd and with the bretheren y came to the chirche to



here matens And when the bretheren had begunne matens y mette with a fenyor that ye knowe wele in the chirche porch and was on of hem that y toke disciplinis in the night before Than whan y saw hym y made a signe to hym. to discyplnye me in lyke wyfe ageyne as he dyd afore. And so lightlye we went bothe to gedyr into the chaptur howse and with one assent gladly we came ageyne And there also mette with vs another fenyor in the same place where y mette the first. to whome y made alsoo a signe for to haue a discyplnye. And he beckid with his hand that y shulde tarye a lityl while. Thanne leste y my bretheren / that y came with to chirche / the whiche were fekelew sittyng a parte. and alone y wente forth to the awter that was notyd to me in my slepe And whenne y was nygh the awter y put of my showys and knelyd on my kneys apou the pament and ofte tymys inclyned my heed doon to the grownd And so went behynde the awter to feche the croffe that y herd of before Trewly y knew not afore in any wise by any mannys telling that any croffe was let doon there Neuertheles y founde hit as hit was tolde me before And anon y was resoluyd al into terys of deuocyon and lyng prostrate al my body ful deuowtly y worshipte that holy croffe seyng many deuout prayers And than after y cam knelyng on my kneys to the same croffe and aftyr seyde lengur deuoute supplicacions and thankynges to god / kyssing oft tymes the sete of the crucifyxe / and besily with the terys of my nyes watrid hem.

**¶** Nowe he sawe the right side of the crucifyxe bledyng don to him and the right fote also and of the .ii. lightys that apperid there. **¶** xi



He mene while as y list vppe my nyes that were fore of weping to the face of the crucifyxe y felte some dropys fallyng don to me I putte ther to my fyngerys and y wele perceyued and knewe by the rednes

that hit was blode Also y behylde the right fyde of the ymage of oure lordis body and hit wellid oute of blode as a mannys flesh is wont to blede. whenne hit is cupid. Trewly the place that y sawe this in was derke. for hyt was behynde the auter aboute myd-nighte. But I sawe there ii lyghtis shynyng at bothe the fydes of the croffe. as hit had be ii tapers wele brenning I lookyd fro whens that light shulde cumme and y cowde see no place fro whens hit came. Trewly than y toke in my hopynne hand: y wote nere how mony dropis of that precious blode and there with diligently y anoyntid my nyes. my neris and my nose thrillys And at the laste y put one drope of yat bleffyde blode in to my lippys and of the grete desyre and deuocyon of myne herte. y swelowd hyt doone And whether y offendyd god in that poynt or no y wote nere The remmand ther of y hild in my hand purpofyng to haue kept hit. Also y behilde and sawe the right fote of the same crucifye blode Sothely yisterday whan y was restoryd to my selfe ageyne and founde no thing of that precious blode in my handys. fore and gretly y sorowde and euer shal for the losse of so grete and precious trefowre.

**¶** Nowe he came in to the chaptur howse and toke Discyplynys and how he was there rauesht.

Ca xii



Orthermore to satiffye yow y shalle nowe telle of other thynges. The. ii. lyghtes that y sawe shynyng abowte the crucifyxe a fore seyde. fodenly paste thens. to the fowthe parte of the awter. Thanne y that was knelyng in the north side of the auter: at the right side of the crucifyxe seyng hit paste and gon to the tother side folowd after hopyng that y shulde see there sum spirituall thyng. And whan y came thedir y herde the sowne of a voyce behynde me of the same

old fadyr that y mette with laſt before in the chirch porch of whom y deſyred to be diſcyplyned and he bade me tary a litil while Than leſte y alle that y ſawe there and y [know] not howe. nether in what wiſe anoon y came in to the chaptur howſe And whan y had ſeyd my *confiteor* as the uſe ys. and he had prayde for me and aſſoyled me with this benefon. *In nomine patris et filii et ſpiritus ſancti amen.* he gaue me diſcyplynys vi. tymes as he didde afore Often tymes y deſired him that y might reherſe my confeſſyon and to take dyſcyplynys of hym. for at euery ſtroke that he gaue me in the ſtydde of ſorowe and peyne. they were turnid to me. an ineſtymable and incredibulle ſwete-nes of ioyfull conforte. But he wold geue me no more and ſo y roſe vppe. Sothely thanne he went in his albyſ and fate done in the abbotis ſete. that was there in the chaptur hows: And thanne y came and lay proſtrate before hym. aſkyng my *veny* and reherſyd ageyne my *Confiteor* etc. and he ſeyde ouer me *Miſereatur tui omnipotens deus* etc. and ſo aſſoyled me ageyne wyth thys bleſſyng *In nomine patris et filii et ſpiritus ſancti* And whenne he had anſwarde *Amen* Anoon ther came to me a certeyne worſhipful fadyr a ſenyor that had a face and a chere as an angelle. clothid in white brightyr and whittir thanne the ſnowe: The heere of his hedd was whore and his ſtature of medy heyth. He toke me vppe and ſeyde allonly to me theſe wordys. Folowe yow me. Trewly than he hylde me by the right hand ſo ſewerly as ſoftly and ſo clippid my hand in hys.

¶ How he felte hym ſelſe here firſt rapte.

¶ Ca xiii



Ere y felte my ſelſe fyrſt rapte in ſpyryte. Than hys brother that was hys confeſſor to whome he tolde alle theſe thynges afore ſeyde aſkyd hym and ſeyde And trowiſte yet brother that y or the tother

fenyor gaue discyplynis yat night as thou seyfte. or went in to the chaptur howse in albys Than he wondrede at his asking and seyde. Knowe not ye that this ys trowth that y haue to yow here seyde Than seyde hys confessor ageyne. in no wyse ther was no feche thynges done of vs nether myght be done. for the ordyr wil not that we shuld haue gone that tyme of the night in to the chaptur howse to geue discyplynys Than he seyde to hym : Dowtheles y had went hether to. that tho discyplynys and other thynges had be done of yow to me Ful wele y knowe withowtyn dowte. that y refceyued thoes discyplynys aboute reherfyd in the chaptur howse : of men that shewed yowr persons and liknes wakyngly and bodely and wyth hole mynde for y felte and herde the strokys of hem and also y wele vnderstode and dyscernyd the voyce of them that prayde for me and affoyled me : as y shulde haue knowe of you bothe Trewly the first night when y went owte of the chaptur hows y thought to haue byddyn ther in the same place tyl the mornyng in the grete gladnes of herte and deuocyon that y had refceyued there but y was sum what troubulde and dysfyd by the noyse of the couent when they went oute of the chirche after matens And lest y shulde haue ben reprouyd of presumpcion / yef y had taride there al night y wente with oure bretheren home to oure bedde And whenne y went out of the chaptur hows y mette with brother marten And that night bode y waking in grete lightnesse of fowle / tyl matens of the next nyghte Thanne the next night after when y was at matens aboute the begynnyng of the thirde nocturne y was callid fro the awter where as y was praying with a sowne made lyke as a man hadde smytte the stony pament wyth his fote and so went in to the chaptur howse. Alsoo hyt was the same owre / in the whiche the laste nyghte. at the laste tyme we went thedyr for the same cause. And alle other thynges lyke as y haue told yow befylle me. Thys onely y canne not remembre in any wise howe y came at the

laste tyme fro the chapel that y was inne to the chaptur hows. For withowte a staffe y myght not goe thedyr: and abowte the sacrarye of the same auter y knowe wele y left my selfe And howe y paste ouer the waye that lyth betwene the chaptur hows. and the place that y was in. and also the lettynge of gricis and other obstaclis iiii or v y can not remembre For when y was cumme to my selfe ageyne. thoes thinges the whiche y had experiens of bodely about the awter and the crosse. ware so fressh in my mynde that I wende y had be founde rather there than in the chaptur howse And this he tolde of tho thingis aboue reherfid.

### ¶ Adigression.

¶ How as touching tho persons of whom he was brought in to the chaptur hous and to whome he feyd [h]is *confiteor* the whiche prayde for him assoyld him and gaue him also disciplynys in the liknes of his own bretheren and he knew no nothir wise that time but they had be his bretheren. they were douteles holy angellys that so apperyd and dyd to him by the wille of god And as towching that worshipfull olde fadyr whois face was like an angel and hys clothing whittir than the snowe. that toke hym by the hand when he lay prostrate in the chaptur hous and seyde to him folow thow me: was the holy and bleffid bishoppe sente Nicholas whome specially he louid and worshippte dayly as hit shalle be aftirward more opynnor declarid And nowe after this adigression go we ageyne to the narracion.

¶ Howe this monke was rapte and foloude his leder sent Nicholas. Ca xiiii



Ladly than feide this monke wente y with that worshipfull olde fader the whiche by commandement of moth and leding of hande had take me vp to be a felow with him of his wey. and al the while that y

lay destitute of my bodily wittis. we went bothe to geder hande in hande Sothly this was fro mydnight of sberethurfday the whiche endith in the mornyng of good fredaye in whiche time y was rauyfhte in spirite as y laye in the chaptur hows tyl the euetyde of saturday foloyng. in the whiche euetyde as ye sawe y was put oute fro that secrete reste and spirituallie fightis that y had before to thys opyn and worldly conuerfacion.

**¶ How sent Nicholas brought this monke to the first place of peynes.** **¶ Ca xv**



**T**henne went we yestewarde by a pleyn weye in a right path til we came to a certen regyon. that was ful wyde and brode and ouer horabulle and gastfull in fight. fowle and myry of thicke cley Trewly there we sawe an infenyte nombre of men and wemen that no man might nombre putforth to the gretnes of dyuers and inenarrabulle peynes There was a company innumerabulle of men and women of euery condicion of euery profession and of euery ordyr There were the doers of al fynnyys ordente to dyuers kyndes of peynes after the diuersite of fynnes and qualite of persons I herde and sawe bi the opyn and brode space of that silde whois endys no ye might see. the wrechid companyes of men and women ouer wrechidful bounden to gedyr flockemel. in ther equalyte of fynnyys and in likeneffe of profession equaly to soffyr and like wise to crye in here grete and greuys peynes And who sum euer y sawe there to be made redy in that peynefull place to heuyn warde opynly y knewe and vndyrstode. for what fynnes they were ponyfht and the kynde of the fynne and the mesure and qualite of ther fatiffaccion. the whiche they deseruyd owther by contricion and co[n]fession of her offensis. or by the remediis and helpinges of othir benefetis done for hem

Trewly al tho that y sawe put there sum what y knewe hem confortyd for the hope of euerlasting blisse the which they hopid sum tyme to cum to And some y sawe paciently sofyrr right grete peynes and for the gode werkys the whiche they had done of ther consciens. that was referuyd and putte vppe in mede for them and also for the grete trust that they had to haue euerlasting blisse euermore countid lygh[t]ly in her sowle the horrabulle peynes that they bare Treuly they wepte and forowde and cryed oute / for grefe of peyns and amonge this as they went forth farthir euermore her peynys were lessid and to hem more esyur Also y behilde mony of them that sodenly scapyd out of the place that they were torment in and sander hastid hem selfe thanne other. to go the weye that was before hem. But anone fro benethe lyke as the grownde hadde be broken. ther brake vppe a flame of fier that inuoluyd hem and the deuyls yat mette with hem. fore bete hem with scorgis and forkis and other dyuers kyndes of tormentyng. and soo ageyne retourned apou hem alle her wodeneffe. Neuertheles they beyng so betyn and brokyn and inwardly brent yet they scapyd ageyne and in lyke condicion as hit is feyd afore. the ferther they went / the lessur wes ther peynys and the yesyur Sothely in this passage some did gretely profet. some but lytyl and some al mooste neuer a dele. To some ther goyng was no profetyng but a myferabulle fayling / for they went fro ful cruel peynes to wers And eche of them aftyr ther olde merytys and deseruynges. owthir were holpe in her weye or lettyd or els releuyd and that was by the present benefetys done and shewyd for hem of their frendys in this world. Sothely thoes thynges the whiche y confeyued in mynde. or was enfourmed and taught by comyning and spekyng with some of them there. anone aftyr y wille opynly shewe hem as hit is benethe in this present wryting declared.

## ¶ Of the grete diuersitees of peynes. ¶ Ca xvi



**I**Nfynyte kyndes and diuerfyttees of peynys where there that y fawe Some of hem were rofityd at the fyre Some were fryed in a panne / Some were alfo rafyd with fyry naylys vnto the bonys and to the lowfing of her ioyntys Some were foden in bathis of pyche and brymftonne with an horabul ftenche and other thingis melted by heete as ledde braffe and other dyuers metellys And some were gnawyn with the venummys teth of wondyrfull wormys. Some alfo were cafte done thicke on arowe and fmyt throw with fharpe ftakys and palys who ys endys were alle fyrye And whyle some were hangyn on galows. odyr were alfo drawyn wyth hokys and some were betyn fore wyth fcurgys. and fo in hard example they were al to toryn. Trewly of tho perfons mony were bifshoppis and abbotys and other were of other dignitees. Sothely some flowryd in prosperite in the fpyrytualte. Some in the temporalte and some in relygyon: the whiche were feyn ponifht in dowbulle forowe aboue other perfons. For y fawe them that were clerkys / Monkys / Noonys / laymen and lay wemen fo mekyl leffe ordende and put to peynys howe mekyl the leffe they had before of worldely dygnyte and profperyte. In trowthe y fawe hem greuyd in a more fpecial bittirneffe of peynys aboue other. the whyche y knewe in my tyme were Iugys and Prelatys of other. And by caufe hyt ys ouer longe to telle finglerly of euery perfone: what they foffryd and wherfore they foffryd. some thynges y wylle gedur to gedur. of some certeyn perfons what they fofryd afore ther dethe and after ther dethe. For that was opyn to me of euery perfon Neuertheleffe there ys no manns tonge that may fuffycyently telle the lyghtyft peynys of that place nethyr by eftymacyon conceue hym in mynde. Alfo the dyuerfyte and multiplycyte of peynys. to the whiche they be cafte vndyr /



euer amonge fro one to a nother veryly y knowlege no man may noumbre. I take god to wytnesse. that and there were any man. the whiche had done to me : or to my frendys alle the hurtys and iniuriis. that may be done of any man in thys lyfe or ellys he had flayne vs y fey and y had so grete an enmy put into peynys that y fawe there to be torment long tyme a thousand tymes and hit were possybylle y wolde sofyr temporal dethe for hys delyuerans. For alle thing ther ben so peynfull of sorowe and anguysshe bytturnes and wrechydnes that they excede mesure and mode. let vs nowe that be it in this worlde alyue see and confidere by this how gretely we ought to geue vs in chaystyng oure wekyd condycyons and to amende oure leuyng and also how mekyl we schulde labour to exercyse vs to kepe the commawndementys of god and to do good werkys by the whyche and the mercy of god we may deserue to be delyuerd afore of so grete euyllys. And also that owre dere frendys as fadyr and moder systyr and broder and othyr that were sum tyme owre louers ther fore ponyght for her offencys myght be delyuerd the soner fro thens by good dedys and werkys of mercy and pety deuowtly done of vs for ther redempcion and helpyng And afore yere y make any special mencion by wrytyng of the fore peynys and tormentys of sum persons that y fownde and knew ther and they also knew me y wyl schortly wryte yn here the placys of peynys that y behelde as y went abowte wyth heuy compassion aftyr we were paste the fyrst peynful place and region Sothly to owre semyng the lengthe of thys fyrste place afore seyde was on goyngable. but we that ys to feye my leder and y went on to the fyde ageynste hyt as we dyd othyr peynful coostys of tormentys but amonge them we came not how be hyt as hyt semyd to me we myghte haue done wythowt any fere or hurte or harme.

¶ Of the secunde place of purgatory. ¶ Ca xvij



Herfore after that we were paste the firste place of purgatorye we came to the seconde place of purgatorye and tormentys in the whyche was an hye hylle vppe al mooste to the clowdys and was deuyded fro the forseyde fyrste place of purgatorye. And thenne lyghtely and swyftely we wente on thys same hye hylle. And there was vndyr the farthyr syde of thys hylle a full depe valeye and a derke. set with bocis and brackys on euery syde hangyng owte who ys lenthe no man myght see. And in the lower parte of the seyde valeye was a full brode ponde of horrabull blake watyr. And owte of that same fowle ponde bysly brake a myste of an indycybylle stenche. Trewely the toon syde of that same hye hylle whyche hangyd toward the ponde caste oute fro hym an horrabulle brennyng fyre vppe on to the heuyn. And alsoo on tothyr syde of the forseyde hye hylle was so grete and inestymable coolde that ys to feye of snowe and Hayle wyth many other cruell stormys that me thoughte and femyd that y sawe no thyng so peynfull and cruel as yat colde was. The lenthe of that valey afore seyde and bothe the sydys of the hylle the whiche had in hem that horabulle fyre and coold was so full of fowlys. as hyues swarmyn ful of bees. To the whyche fowlys thys was a comynne and a generalle tormente that nowe they were drownd in the forseyde ponde and fro thens takyn vppe and caste in to fiere. and so at the laste they ware bore vppe an hy by the grete vyolente flamys of fier as sparclys byn of a brennyng fornece. and so lette down on the tother syde of the hylle to the horrabulle coolde of snowe hayle and sharpenesse of stormys and afterward caste downe hedlonge in to the greuys stenche of the ponde aboue seyde and ageyne takyn vp and caste in to the brennyng fier. And some of hem were lengur ponyst in fier thenne other and some in coolde. And some ware taryde

lengur in the greuys stenche of the ponde. than other. And some y sawe ware bounde and compressid in the myddys of flamys of fier that meruelous hit is to speke. and as grapys be compressyd in a pressure. Trewely the condicion of al that ware there torment and peynde in that secunde place was this. Alle the fspace of the ponde aboue seyde. they were compellyd to goe throwe. fro the begynning to the endyng. for to fulfille her purgacion. Neuerthelesse ful grete and monyfold was the distinccon and dyuersyte of her peynys and tormentys. For some had lighter ponyshment than some. and some was grauntyd a more swyfter passage thens. then to some other and that was for the qualite of her merytys and deseruingys afore done and also for the quantitie of suffragys and helpys done of her frendys for hem after her dethe. And they that were of grettur offensys and synnis and seldyn or slowly holpyn longe tyme and fore were holdyn in peynys. And sothely the more nere they al came to the ende of the place the more yesyfor and softry waxed their peynys. The mooste cruell peynys were in the begynnyng howe be hit as y seyde afore not al equally Sothely the peynys and tormentys of thys secunde place were mekyl more harder and scharper than the peynys and tormentys that we sawe in the fyrste place. wherfore hyt was so that mony that ware yn the secunde place ware forer ponyshd than they that ware yn the fyrst place. Here trewely fownde y and knew mony mo some tyme of myne acquaintans than y dyd yn the first place. Not wythstondyng yn bothe the placys y spake with some. The mesure of ther statur apperyd not sufficiently as y knew hem before yn thys worlde. For the stature and forme of some of them was as hyt had be lessyd or thynnyde by tormentys. And some had leste no thyng of their quantite. Neuertheles thys dyuersiteys of her shappys yn no thyng lettyd my knowlege. For ther knowlege was to me so prompte so redy and so opyn as hyt was that tyme when they leuyd wyth vs yn thys worlde.

¶ how sent margaret deliuered a sowle of a synful woman fro the deuyls. ¶ Ca xbiij



Ere nowe hit lykith me to telle a certen fayre dede and werke of grete pete and mercye the whiche that tyme was to me a beholdyng of heuynes and also of consolacion the whyche may be to alle the worlde a nobylle document and techyng why the peple schulde haue god and hys holy seyntys bothe of men and wemen in worschuppe and in reuerence. Truly whyle y behylde meruelyng thoo thyngys aboue seyde and mony other And hylde long talkyng there wyth hem that y knewe before y harde a ferre a grete noyse and a crye as hit had be theuys that had takyn a pray or else as they had ouer cum their ennemy with fowle mockys and scornys. and loe after that noyse and creye folowde a cursyd companye of wyckyd spyrytys and a myghty ledyng with hem anone as they hopyde to helle a soule of a woman late departyd fro her body. O good god what peynys and tormentys tho cruell enmyes leyde apon her. And the more they knewe her withoute helpe the more wodder were they on her. what man heryng euer wolde beleue to any creature tellyng how tho wekyd spyrytys and tyrandys of the deuylle castyd that soule amonge hem. as a tenyse balle wyth fyrye instrumentys now fro on to another. But hoo may in any wyse telle or schewe to any man beleuyng howe her mawe and inwarde bowellys were smytte thorowe wyth the fyrye dartys of tho cruell tormentours. And as god ys my wytnes y behylde and sawe her sofyrrer so grete and horrabulle peynys and tormentys verely as they leyde hem on her cruelly Nowther these thyngys ware vnto my fyghte as naturally a man seyth with bodely yes that ys to saye the vtwarde peynys that a man sofyryth yn bodye. but also what they felte ynwardly good or euylle and with what heuynesse or wyth what gladnes they were smytte

wythinforthe in her fowllys alle was to me that tyme  
 playne and opyn So therefore thys vnhappy fowle what  
 for the prefente sorowe or dolour that fche fofryd and  
 hadde and the fere of euerlaftyng dampnacyon. was in  
 grete anguys and sorowe of peynys and tormentys.  
 For there was no hope that confortyd her to fcape  
 defolate and deftytute of alle helpe and focoure O  
 bytterneffe of alle bytterneffe moofte byttyrste whome  
 no trufte or helpe releuyth or helpyth and desperacyon  
 of the ende encrefythe. The daye before fhe lefte her  
 mortalle body in the whyche fche leuyd ftrompetly  
 and vycyusly and nowe fche ys keuerd wyth the vefture  
 of fchame and vellonye. And wyth yn fche ys bytтын  
 wyth the confcyens of fchameful dedys done wyckyd-  
 lye and wythoutforth fche ys mouyd wyth mockyng  
 and fcornyng of deuelys heuely. Sothely fche felte  
 thanne in her fulfilled the wordys of the holy man Iob  
 feying thys wyfe of fuche perfons. *Ducunt in bonis  
 dies fuos et in puncto ad inferna descendunt.* That  
 ys to feye they lede her days in goodys after their  
 plefure and in the twynkeling of an ye they falle done  
 to helle Therefore while thys onhappy fowle by the  
 victoryfe pompys of her enmyes was goyng to be  
 broughte into helle for the fynne and onleful luftys  
 of her body. Loe fondenly anon came done an hye  
 fro heuyn a gret lyght by the whyche bryghtnes and  
 bemys. the forfeyde wykyd fpiritys and minyftrys of  
 the deuyl. ware dullyd and made onmyghty and fyl  
 done to the gronde wyth the fowle that they had  
 Sothly than yn the fame lyght came done a multitude  
 of virgenys fchynyng yn clothys. whyte as the fnow  
 and fette abowte wyth golde and precius ftonys. the  
 grace and ioy that was yn the beholdyng of her facys  
 and chere y make no menfion of for hyt was fo gret  
 and yneftymable that y can not remembre my felfe  
 that faw hyt. how y myght wordly fpeke of hyt.  
 Amonge the whyche on that was moofte feyryfte wele  
 y knewe and feche was the bleffyd virgynne and martir  
 fent margaret. And anon as the forfeid fowle faw her

the whiche was more thrall for her fynnys than of the deuylls beganne myferably to crye and feyde. O bleffyd and precius spowfe of cryfte haue mercy on me and helpe me that for myn nowne propyr fynnys am yn desperacyon and ryghtfully put to peynys and tormente. I knowlege and verely knowlege that yn al my lyfe y dyfpyfyd the commawndementys of god and gaue my body to al onclene leuyng. And nothyr god. ne any of hys fentys of men or wemen that y louyd affectually or dyd any worshippe to hem yn dede. The only of the nowmbre of the holy fentis yn heuin euer more hertely y haue louyd and eury saturday of myn own goodys afore thine auter y offerde vppe candelys. And the custome of my fowle leuyng now late. beyng hoolle of my mynde and body for thy loue and worshippe vtwardly y lefte I beleuyd also that by the remedy of confession al my fynnys hade be weshte away. But alas for sorowe my confession was not sufficient to weshte and do away so gret and so mony fowle fynnys and olde by cause y lackyd before the feruor of contricion and dyd not for my fynnys euyworthy penans. Therfor my fynnys cleuyn fast to me not yet forgeuyn the whiche y slowthyd too wype away by goo[d] werkys. Loe ther fore my lady and my swetnes and conforte schalle my yfytys of deuocyons peryshe the whyche y haue done feytfully to the and schalle y thys peryshe nowe also not only to my selfe but also to the to whome only y haue studyd besely and thought not for to peryshe and now y peryshe to my selfe and to al thyngys. These thyngys and many othyr yn thys wyse sche feyde wyth sore and byttur wepyng and crying more than a man may beleue. For y take god to recorde and to my wytnes that y saw the terys breke owte of her yes as they hade be hayle stonys. And thys whyle sche sorowde the glorius virgyn and martyr sent margaret turnyd her to to her felows virgyns that were there wyth her and feyde O sche feyde ye mozte swete systers ye see now the perelle of thys woman sum tyme my seruant and

ye knew a[l]fo the ynportune malice of the deuyls the whyche pretendyn by many weys of refon to haue her to hem. And therefore let vs now do that thyng the whiche only ys lefte of remedy and helpe for her. Pray we now to the euerlaftyng iuge and meke redemer that he the whyche al thing may doo wille wyth faue as he knowyth beste. of hys goodnes. and at owre defyre fum what to helpe thys wrechyd fowle. fum tyme redemyd by hys precius blode fro the cruelle power and venummys tethe. of these wekyd spiritys. And whan thys bleffyd virgyn and martyr sent margaret had feide these wordys anone whytowtyn and taryng. al thoo virgyns bowde downe to the grownd on her kneys and lyftyd vppe her handys prayng for that fynful woman to her ynmortalle fpowfe. owre bleffyd lorde and fauyur ihesu cryft. And anon as they had of god ther peticion grantyd they rose vppe togedyr fro preyer. Than anone thys bleffyd virgyn seynt margaret wyth stabylle contynawne of face and fowle gaftfulle and thretyng the wekyd spiritys came nere and made of her fleue a maner of a fchorge and lyfte hyt vppe as fche wolde haue fmitte hem. Then they anon as hyt had be flyes yn a whyrle wynde fleyd away hethur and thedur leuyng alone her bownde fowle. and sodenly yat yn the farthir fyde apperyd a dyke ful of boylyng watyr vppe to the brymmys. Therefore yn thys dyke y fawe her put yn. And then seyde to her that bleffyd and mercyfulle helper sent margaret. Here now thow muste fulfyll the penanfe the whiche thow fchuldyst haue done before yn they lyfe. and by my prayur thow fchalt haue mekylle helpe and releuyng of thy peynys. and afterwarde when thy fynnyys be fully purgyd and clenfyd by me thow fchalt be admytted to referue euerlaftyng ioye and bliffe. Treuly hit can not be feyde howe ioiffully this fynful woman toke tho wordys feyde to her in the whiche fche knewe an ende of her due penanfe and afterward myght fele the goodnes and mercy of god. So than thys vycoryose dede done yat glorious fight of vyrgynys ascendyt vppe to heuyn.

¶ How a goldsmyth was saued by sent Nycholas. ¶ Ca xix



¶ Ere now folowyth also another like myracle of ful grete mercy and pety of the excellent might and poure of the blefsyd byshope sent nycholas Therfore now y wille telle a nobyl dede and werke late done in a certen seruant of his the whiche not longe a go welle y knewe and famylyarly louyd for some gode thingys yat was seyne of him the whiche therfore the more gladlyur y wiltelle. for this man that y nowe speke of the whiche by his occupacion was a goldsmith told and declaryd to me first the merite and the name of my leder with whome y went hande in hande. and though y beseyn here now sum what to breke out for the order of the narracion be cause y seyde before that ere y made any mencyon of the tormentis and peynys of any persons specially First y wulde shortly telle of the peynful placys that were schewyd to me But let that be takyn of tho persons the whiche afterward y wille opynly declare to the profet of hem yat lyste to here or rede this reuelacion. Therfor as y suppose ye remembre how a certen person a goldsmith and a cytson of this place was hastily preuent of dethe and sodenly dyed. Of whom also hyt was opynly noyfyd that hyt so besylle hym for ouer mekylle drynkyng wyne. And therefore how myght a man sey to whome thys man schulde be fortyd but amonge them that sent iohan the apostylle specially spekyth yn hys pystylle. *Est peccatum ad mortem. non pro illo dico ut oret quis.* That ys to sey. Ther ys synne contynewde vn to dethe y sey no man pray for hym that contynewyth hys synne to hys dethe who so absolute may be seyde that contynewyth hys synne to hys dethe. as he that contynewyth yn dedly synne and so lesyth lyfe and takyth dethe. Sothly thys man bode not only yn the synne of dronkynnes to hys dethe but also he fylle



yn to dethe doying that fame fynne the whiche ys the feede and cause of al euylle. And as a certen wyfe man feith dronkinnes excufith no vife Therefore thys man whoys fine and pelle we speke of now yat hyt schulde be feryd and dredde yn hys wolde days was ouer prone and redy to dronkenes for the last thre days yat euer he saw in thys worlde he continewyde dayly almoſte yn the fame fynne And yf y had know for certen a day before yat he had dyed of ſeche a cause as hit ys aforeſeyde what ſchulde y thynke or fele of hym more worthior than not for to pray for him. leſte [leſte?] my prayur before the ryghtwes iuge ſchulde be voide and no thing helpyng hym Neuertheles y vfyd to pray for hym thawghe yt ware ſlowly. not verely certifide of ſo ſoroful a fame and happe Sothely hyt was ſo. by the prouifion of god that thys goldefmyth was in the ſecunde place of peynys. and alſo y ſawe and behylde hym by me. whome anone y knewe and gretely meruelde. ſeyng hym afore mony other that y behylde. in goode hope and lyghtly ſofryng hys peynys. Trewly thanne my leder lokyd on me howe ſtidfaſtly y behylde hym and aſkyd me and y knew hym And y ſeyde ful wele. Than he ſeyde. and yow knowe hym. ſpeke to hym Sothly then this goldfmyth lokid on vs bothe : and knowing vs wyth an enarrabulle geſtur and behauing of gladnes ioyde to my leder and with bothe his handys ſpred opyn ofte bowde done al hys body worſhippyng and greting hym with innumerable thankys for hys benefetys and goodnes ſhewyd to hym And the mene whyle y ſalute hym. and he ioyfully ſalute me ageyne. Than y enqueryd of hym how hit was. that ſo ſone he was paſte the honorable peynys. the whiche y knewe by his ſighte he had ſofryd Then he anſwarde this

**¶** Here thys monke knewe first that sente Nicholas was hys leder. **¶** Ca xx



**M**Y dere frynde he seyde. al ye to gedur in the worlde haue me as losse and dampde. not knowyng the goodnes and mercy here of my present lorde sente Nicholas. the whiche had not sofrid me an onhappy and an onprofetable seruauant of his to be dampde and losse euerlastyngly. Than seyde y to hym. Trewly as thou feyste. alle we that ware thy frendys forowde that thou didest so sodenly and gretly abashyd ynwardly supposyng verely that thow hadyfte be dampde. and by cause also thow hadyfte no helpe ne remedy by fore they dethe of the holy sacramentys of the chyrche. Sothly by cause y fynde the othyr wyse than we wende y am glade and fayne y wolde here how and yn what wyse thow deydyst so and scapydyste eternal damnacion Thanne he seyde. Gladly what sum euer thow desyre y wylle the telle.

**¶** How the same goldsmyth tolde the monke yn purgatory how he dyed sodenly and yet was sau'd **¶** Capitulum. .xxi



**Y**E knew wele how y dysposyd me yn my leuyng whan y was yn the worlde as thoo thingys that were opyn to mannys fyghte. Also y contynwyde yn the fowle synne of dronkynnes. vn to my last ende. of an euyl custome. Neuertheles hyt was not my wylle. For gretly hyt dysplefyd me and mekyl y forowyde that y kowde not leue that vyse. Sothly oftyn tymes y rose ageynst my selfe sewurly purposyng. to leue and caste away the fowle vyse of dronkynnes that y was wholde yn. But anon what for the luste of drynkyng and the importunyte of feleshyppe that y dranke with

y was conſtraynde to drynke aftyr the meſure of myne olde cuſtome, wherby y was ouer cumme. and drawyn ageyne bonde yn to luſte and cuſtome of the ſame finne. that was yn mine owne onmeſerabulle taking and appetite Treuly amonge this by the mercy of god the whiche wylle that no man peryſh yn my moſte bleſſyd lorde ſent Nycholas whome now ye folowe graciouſly and preſently. and whoys pareſhon alſo y was. ſeche deuocion y had to hym. that for any occaſion y neuer leſte but what ſum euer y myght do to his worſchippe y dyd hyt ful deuowtly And how mekyl euer y gaue me towarde euyne to dronkynnes y vſyd euer more to be at matens. for anon as they range y wulde be ther. and oftyn tymes afore the paryſh pryſte. Alſo y fownde contynwaly a lampe of myne owne coſte. yn ſent Nycholas chapelle And thoo thyngys that were neceſſarye to the ornamentys of alle the chyrche. as yn lyghtys or any othyr thyngys. y wolde dylygently orden therefore. as y had be hys famylyar ſeruante and mawncypylle And wher y had not ſufficyent of myn owne goodys to do hyt y wolde moue othyr of the paryſh to helpe as hyt ſemyd nedefulle Sothly the yyſtys [gyftys?] that men or wemen gaue. y toke hem. and to be hon[our]able vſus. ful treuly y ſpendehem. Alſo twyes yn the yere that ys at cryſtynmas and at eſtyr wolde clene confeſſe me of al my ſynnys as wele as y bowde to owre paryſh pryſte. takyng penanſe for hem and yn parte y dyd fulfille hem diligently Treuly y dyd not obſerue and kepe tho thingys that y was commaundyd of my goſtely fathyr. for oftyn tymes y leſte ſum thyngys that y ſchulde haue doo and thoo thingys that y ſchulde haue beware of. And of the commawndement of my goſtely fadyr y faſtyd the dayes of aduent as y dyd the lent ſeſyne. To the whyche dayes of aduent. y addyd of myne owne fre wylle. as many dayes afore aduente as wold make vppe the noubre of the dayes of lente And ſo on cryſtenmas daye y wold be hoſylde and reſceyue the holy ſacrament of owre lordys precious body and blode. But alaffe for ſorowe

when that y shuld haue be / that holy dayes of owre lordys byrthe. more holyur and deuowtur in my luyng then other tymes. y turnyd me contrary vnto other werkys and besynesses of a worldly custome. wherfore hyt happyd vnto me also in myne laste ende that the wekyd angelle of that deuyl Sathanas. the whyche ys causer and kendler of alle euyl scornyd me. And also he hadde browghte plesaunte worde and tytyngys of my dampnacyon to hys father the deuyl. yeffe the mercye and goodnes of my lorde sente Nycholas had not wythstonde hym therfore euermore to hym be thankyngys of al his trew seruawntys. for my delyueraunce. for he had lowfyd and delyueryd me. And as ryghtwesly as y was to be dampde and cruelly to be ponyshete as mekely and as mercyfully he hath noryshete and kept me : Sothely on crystynmas daye after that y had refceyuyd the good lorde that y can not remembre withowte grete horror and heuynes. y was drawyn of an euyl custome as y feyd afore by ouermoche drynkyng the same daye in to dronkynnesse ageyne to the grete iniurye and ronge of seche a lorde whome y had refceyuyd a lytyll before in to my fowle And on the morow y wente to chyrche as y vsid to do fore waylyng the fowle vice the whiche y dyde the daye before purposyng to be ware of hyt and to do no more / but hit was as voyde and vayne For by the occasion that y had of drynkyng and the deuyls steryng me therto / y was destitute and losse the stabulnes of vertu and the mighty purpos of soburnes that y had conceuyd : and so y fulfild not my purpose in dede. but fowle as y dyd yysterdaye so y dyd to daye and by delectacion of ouer mekyl drynkyng fyl downe agayne to dronkinnes. Sothely the next daye after folowyng the whiche ys the thirde daye after crystynmas daye I leste not myne olde custome of drynkyng. wherby y had losse the vertu of soburnes and all my wyttys also. Thenne whenne hit was derke nyghte y wente oute of the place where y dranke / and came home and wente to bed as y was clothed and schod and a lytyll y slepte And anone y

woke and wold haue refyn and feyd as y had wente  
 that then yt had ronge to matens But my wyfe told  
 me nay and fo y layde my downe ageyne. Trewly  
 thanne fyrft y toke a flepe and anone after y toke my  
 dethe And howe y felte deth fodenly cumme apone  
 me y wille telle yow. A certen deuyl that tempted  
 and fteryd me to the vyce of dronkynnes thoughte to  
 hym felfe that and y deyed in feche a perylle whytowte  
 any contradiccion he wolde me drawe to hell prefumyng  
 alfo to haue thenne power on me to doo what fomme  
 euer he wolde. for myne obedyens and confentyng in  
 that vyce to hym But ageyne full mekyl he drede.  
 lefte by the merytys of my patron fent Nicholas. y  
 fchulde any tyme preuayle agenft him by amendement  
 of my lyuyng: yf y lyued any lengur and fo by hys  
 prefumptuous power cruelly me strangulde. Trewly  
 y felte him like an owle goo in to my mowthe  
 the whiche oftyn tymes ful euylle y opynd to drynke  
 and fo thorowe my throte flyly came downe to my harte.  
 And anone y knewe that hit was the deuil. Notwith-  
 ftondyng y was yet myndfull of the mercijs of god and  
 alfo of myne owne wrechydnes and with ftabulle purpofe  
 vowyd in my mynde to god that y wold purely and  
 holy confefse me of alle my fynnys. and vtwardly for  
 euer forfake the wyfe of dronkennes And to this y  
 called as inwardly as y kowde. on fent Nicholas to be  
 my borowe. Sothely to this auyfement onnethe was  
 graunted me the fpace of a moment. Trewely thanne  
 the wekyd fpiryte fate downe anone apone my herte.  
 and clypte hyt wyth hys curfyd armys on euery fyde.  
 Alfo he drew out of his mowthe an horrible voment of  
 venyne and cafte hit al abroad and fo in the fpace of  
 a twynbelyng of an ye he expellyd and cafte me  
 oute of my bodye And anone after that y was  
 hade forthe thorowe darke placys by the cruelle and  
 incredible wodnes of wykyd fpirytys the whiche al to  
 bete me difcerpte me ftekyd me drewe me and al to  
 brend me and caryed me with them y wot not wheder /  
 but as they wolde to euerlafting tormentys. Than

anone my moſte meke and dere aduocatour ſeynt  
 Nicholas to whome y called with all myne herte at my  
 laſte ende. and whome euer in my lyfe y haue worſchipte  
 thawghe y were a fynner. came thanne and mightily  
 toke and deliuered me oute of her handys. and here  
 hath ſette me in this place of purgatorye for my pur-  
 gacion. And howe be yt that y ſofre here fore and  
 harde peynys y cownte hit lightly whyle y haue no  
 drede of the wekyd ſpyrytys and alſo that her tyranny  
 and importable cruelnes ys ſefyd and gone fro me /  
 And ſothely after this for certeyn y am and truſte to  
 haue reſte and euerlaſtyng ioye be my lorde ſent  
 Nicholas And nowe alſo and euermore / ſen the tyme  
 that y was put here to this peynys by the whiche  
 whenne y ame ouer fore greuyd and diſefyd yet by hys  
 meke and moſte meke and bleſſyd viſitacyon. y am wel  
 confortid and releuydageyne In my graſte [craſte?] alſo  
 by the whiche y gate to me and to myn owre leuyng in  
 the world often tymes in my begynnyng y begylde and  
 dyſceyued the pepulle for the fere of pouerte And  
 now for that y am ful bitturly ponyſhte. and the todyr  
 daye before me kyl more harder therffore y ſofryd  
 peynes Trewly often tyme y haue ben caſte downe  
 hed longe into a grete hepe of brennyng money  
 amonge the whiche y brente ful intolerably. And tho  
 fyrye penſys y was compellyd to deuoure with an opyn  
 mowthe that y felte alle my bowellys to brenne in me  
 And hethir to often times y am compellyd to telle hem  
 and of the towchyng of hem myne handys and ſyngers  
 ben fore peynde. Alſo by ouer grete brennyng and  
 hete of thirſt my inward bowels with herte throwte and  
 chekys waxen wan and beſyly begynne to fayle Theſe  
 and many other thinges y herde of hym as opynly as  
 hit might be told of any man leuyng yn hys bodye.

¶ Nowe the goldsmyth also tolde to the monke  
a remedye agenst soden deth. ¶ Ca xxii



Vm thyng ther is the whiche he tolde me  
amonge other that y wyl not hyde fro the  
reder here of. I sawe there innumerable  
pepulle that dyde sodenly in this world  
the whiche were ponyfcht al moſte owt of  
meſure And of many thys y knew that they the whiche  
were putte in delyberacyon and auyſement for to fynne  
And whenne they came to the dede doying of what  
ſomme euer fynne hyt was and eche one of theym  
ſeyde in hys mynde lo now y wylle doo and fulfille  
that the wyche y haue gretly deſyred. he was takyn  
by the wille of god to the vtmeſt peynys and poniffe-  
ment of dethe as thawgh he hadde herde of this texte  
in the goſpelle. *Stulte en anima tua repetitur a te | ad  
quid cogitaſti aduerſus deum immo contra ipſum te  
nequiſſima.* That ys to ſaye. Fole lo they ſowle ys  
takyn fro the. wherto haſte thou thoughte agenſt god  
and alſoo agayneſt thy ſelfe full wekyd thynges. Ne-  
uertheleſſe as we haue knowyn by hym ſelfe the whiche  
told thys. that whenne they were putte yn that byttyr  
ſcharpenefſe of dethe coueytyng and purpoſyng to cor-  
recte and amende her fautes yef they hadde any ſpace  
of penaunce graunted vnto hem. and in her ſwyfte and  
haſty departyng ſekyd after the mercye of god and  
alſoo after the helpe of his holy ſeyntys. Therefore of  
the grete mercy of god her byttyr dethe was to hem a  
grete clenſyng of her ſynnys. the whiche they ſchuld  
haue ſofryd afterward fully in placys of peynys and  
tormentys. Forthermore y enquyred and aſkyd of  
thys goldsmyth of whome y haue nowe told and ſeyde  
many thingys yeffe hyt were poſſyble by any thyng  
that the folke myght ſchonne and eſchewe ſoden dethe.  
Thenne he anſwarde and ſeyde in thys wyſe vnto me.  
O he ſeyde Sothely and yf y hadde knowyn whenne  
that y was in the world leuyng ſuche thyngys as y

knowe nowe y wulde haue taughte and defende all the world fro that grete hurte and dammage. howe the pepulle and folke myght be fewre and safe fro the fallyng of soden dethe. Trewly and verily and the crystyn pepulle wolde wryte dayly on her forhedys and aboute the placys of her herte wyth her fynгур of [or?] in any other wyse. these. ii. wordys that conteynyth the mysterye of the helthe and saluacyon of mankynde that ys to wytte and to saye ¶ Ihesus nazarenus wythowtyn dowte the trewe pepulle of oure fauyur ihesu cryste schuld be harmeles and preferued fro fuche a grete peryll and hurte And alsoo they schalle haue after her dethe the same letters and wordys wretyn full opynly and clerely at her hertys and also in her forhedys in tokyn and in signe of grete worschyppe. I knowe also that my meyny kepte me. ii. dayes onberyde after my dethe. hopyng that y schulde haue reuyuyd for the redness and hete the whyche was in my face and in my bodye the whyche douteles was of the feruent replecyon of wyne dronkyn before. For my departyng of this world was so hastye and zwifte : that myne soule was gonne and paste out of my bodye. yere my wyfe vnderstode or knewe hit or sende to calle for the pryfte. These thyngys y knewe ful trewly there of this goldsmyth.

¶ Nowe the sone of the same goldsmyth tolde vnto the monke aftyr that he was cum to hym selfe ageyne that hys fadyr had aperyd thrices to hys mother aftyr hys dethe. ¶ Ca xxiii



Sothely aftyr .xv. dayes feth y saw and herde thys the sone of the forfeyd goldesmyth a certain yonge man came to me with grete wepyng and tolde me that hys father had apperyd. iij. nyghtis to gedyr to hys moeder wakyngly as sche was yn her prayers at home yn her chambyr and bade her that sche schulde sende



to me to knowe how hyt was fully with hym and of hys  
 flate that thys knowyn. fche myght be the more con-  
 fortyd and feythfullir and deuowter to helpe hym And  
 also that she by the same tellyng may the bettyr be  
 ware gyde to her selfe and her meyny to god ward :  
 And the same yonge man wytnefyd wyth grete fweyng  
 that the thyrde nyghte of hys fatherrs apperyng he  
 herde hys mother talkyng and spekyng longe tyme  
 with hym. and somme tyme enquiryng and also somme  
 tyme anfweryng hym. and thenne afterward fche told  
 vnto my hys wordys the whyche he hadde tolde and  
 feyde vnto her. Trewely he feyde that he herde / no  
 maner wordys of hym talkyng or spekyng vnto her but  
 pacyently taryde tyl they hadde done. Sothely hys  
 mother told hym that fche hadde harde of her husbond  
 twyes before. And as fche knowleged and feyde fche  
 feyde that he was full of Ire and wrathe and moche  
 blamed her becaufe that he was forgotten and putte  
 owte of mynde fro her whyche was warnyd by hym  
 selfe after hys dethe to doo a lytyll thyng for hym and  
 that fche wulde not do so moche for hym. but excused  
 her that for the on certente of vyfyons fche dyfferde  
 hyt leste that hyt sculd haue bene supposyd that fche  
 hadde be dysceyued and begylde. And thenne he  
 answerde and feyde Sende wythoutyn taryng thedyr  
 as y commaunde and telle and faye to hym howe often  
 tymes for the same thyng y haue apperyd to the and  
 also feye apone these tokynys. that the last tyme the  
 whiche he sawe me y was in grete peyne And amonge  
 othyr thyngys that he herde of me y told hym how  
 mekyl the holy confessour feynt Nycholas hadde holpe  
 me. Trewly he prayde me with grete instaunce that  
 I schulde stere and also moue bothe hys wyfe and hys  
 sone. and on hys behalfe commande hem that the  
 feruyce and worschyppe the whyche he was wonte to  
 do in hys lyfe and they also by example to sent  
 Nycholas. for no cause nethyr for any occasyon schulde  
 be leste but dayly more and more wyth amendement  
 of her luyng dylygently schewe and do her deuocyons

and feruys to hys patron and aduocatour sent Nycholas. Also this foreseyde man and goldsmyth of whome y haue nowe told and spokyn as hyt ys feyde afore dyde aboute a xv monthys agone the whyche trewely by the merytys of the holy confessor sent Nycholas hys patrone yn a shorte tyme was spedde oute of mekyl sorowe that onethe y myght see any. that profette so mekyl there as he dede in so lytyl tyme. wherfore ful expediende hyt ys to alle men whyle they leuyn in this world deuoutely to serue the holy seyntyngs of god by the whyche they may haue in her grete nede the grace and mercye of almyghty god as hyt ys schewyd and prouyd often tymes.

¶ Of the thyrde place of the peynys and tormentys that ben in the purgatorie. ¶ Ca xxxiiij



Vt nowe let vs schewe as we maye thoes thynges that remaynyn of the thyrde place the whyche we sawe and behylde. For aboute alle thyng that may be conceyued of any manns mynde. hyt exceedeth of cruelnes and dedly tormenting For veryly y knowleche as for the quantyte of euyl yat ys there no man may suffyse to expresse or telle the lest peynys of that place. The grete horrabulnes of yat place so mekylle. the feurer y myght see and beholde that y knewe hym. to bewyth me. and was also my gyde and leder at that same tyme the holy bysschop and confessor sente Nycholas whome y haue euer speccially worschipped and loued. Trewely the more famylyare that y hadde hym in worship the more surer was y made of hys felysschippe and companye. to see and beholde the horrabulle peynys and tormentys. the whiche nowe beyng absent can not remembur withoute grete horroure and gastfulnesse of mynde but y was made of euery syde ful stabulle and sure. for the felysschippe and knowleche the whyche y hadde of my gyde and leder the holy

confeffour fent Nycholas. Therefore leuyng the forfeide  
 fecunde place. that we were at. as hit ys aboue reherfyd  
 we came to a ful grete fylde. and as hyt femyd hyt  
 was fette yn a lowe grownde fequestrate and departyd  
 from al othir that no maner perfone myght dedyr come.  
 excepte tho that were there ponyfchte or fchuld be  
 ponyfchte Trewly the ouer part of that fylde was  
 keueryde wyth a ful horrabl clowde. yn the whyche  
 was myxte and medylde to gedir a fume of brymftone  
 wyth a myfte a gret ftenche and a flame black as  
 pycche was medylde wyth hem the whyche brake  
 owte on euery fyde lyke hyllys and fo fpredyd  
 all abrode. And the playnnes of that place was fo  
 repletyd and fulfylde withe wormys as flowrys be  
 wonte to be ftawyn with ruffhys. And they were  
 aboue alle eftymacyon horrabulle wundryfull and vn-  
 fhappely the whyche wyth a gaffull opyn mouth  
 brethyd oute curfyd fyre at her nofys. And with an  
 onfpekable deuowryng al to tore the wrechyd com-  
 panyfe of folke that ther were. the whyche ryght nowe  
 fo waftyd and confumydde. deuylys ranne ouer all  
 lyke as madde men and were alfo full cruell and wodde  
 apone tho wrechys. Trewely thanne the deuylys  
 ponyfhte hem wyth fyry instrumentys fyglerly by  
 euery membre of her bodye: and thanne afterward  
 they rafyd and al to teryd their flefhe vtwardly vnto  
 the bonys. and thenne after thys whenne they hadde  
 fo done they cafte them into the fyre and there they  
 were made lyquyd as hyt were metalle. and alfo toke  
 hem oute ageyne as brennyng fyre. Lytyl yt ys y take  
 god to recorde. and as no thyng what fomme euer y  
 be aboute to telle of the peynys and tormentys of that  
 place. For in a ful fchorte fpace of tyme by alle maner  
 dyuerfytees of an hondyrdfolde peynys and tormentys  
 or more y behylde and fawe howe they were confumed  
 and wafte to nought and thenne anone reftoryd  
 ageyne And ageyne almoſte they were with peynys  
 broughte to nought and anone made hole ageyne the  
 whiche in that fame place the loſte lyfe of hem was

compellyd to fofre. And of thefe alteracyons of tymes in the whyche by grete peynys and tormentys they were brought to nought anone reftoryd ageyne ther was non ende no marke ne terme. Also the hete and brennyng of that fyre was fo feruent and deuouring that what fum euer hyt brent hyt wulde be lyke as a thyng that ware al moſte confumyd or waſtyd. And thenne the wormys that were there warded and brokyn and made ſmalle vnto pecys and then they were gedyrd on grete hepys to gedyr and leyde vnther the vnhappy fynful wrechys that were there. wherfore they fo fulfilled alle thyng with fo grete ſtenche that hyt excedyd alle the tormentys and peynis before feyd. And yet remayneth one thyng the wyche they that were in that place were compellyd to fofre the whiche ys more hatfull peynful and ſchameful than any thyng aboute feyde.

**¶ Of the vnclene and foule vyce and synne of  
ſodemytys.** **D Ca xxv**



**S**othely alle thoo that were there ponyſſht and peynde were in thys worlde whyle they leuyd doers of that foule fynne the whiche oughte not [to] benamyd not only of a cryſtyn man but alſo of none hethyn man. Certen grete monſturs that ys to feye grete beſtys onnaturally ſchapyne ſchewyd hem ſelfe in a fyrye lykenefſe horrabulle and gaſtfulle to fight and oftyn tymes vyolently came apone hem and alſo in a fowle damnable abuſion compellyd hem to medylle with hem. howe be hyt that they refuſyd and wulde hyt not. I abhorre and ame aſſchamed to ſpeke of the fowlneſſe and vnclenes of that ſame fynne. Thanne betwene her peynfull and curfyd clepynges they roryd and yellyd and cryed owte and afterward they fylle done to gedyr lyke as yf they hadde ben gonne and ded and anon takyn vppe ageyne and fo forth putte

vnto newe peynys. Trewely y remembryd not wele at that same tyme the feyng of the holy postle sent powelle in hys pyfstyle of feche persons, where he condempnyth the foule vyce and synne agaynest nature bothe of men and wemen. And yeffe y hadde sene and confyderyd the cause namely nowe in tyme of crystendame. cowde not in any wyse haue beleuyd that fuche a foule synne and vyse myght haue be presumed and done specyally of wemen. the whyche naturelly schuld be more schamfull thenne other. I neuyr herde before nether hadde any suspycyon hethirto that the kynde of wemen hadde be deprauyd and defoyled by fuche a foule synne. And alas for forowe. for ther was founde a company of fuche so innumerabulle. as they were myserable. Many of tho personys that were there in that place y knewe not nethyr wele behylde hem by cause that the qualyte of her foule synne. and the grete stenche and tormentys that was there smytte me wyth full grete horroure and tedufnes. Full greuys hyt was vnto me and more thanne a man may beleue to be there in that place a moment whyle. or to beholde fuche thynges as ware there. Neuerthelesse y felte no stenche by experyence whylys y was there as y dyd no nothir hirte of peynys. for my thoughte and yf I hadde felte hit y myghte noo lengur haue leuyd. Notwithstondyng y confyderyd aud perceyued sufficyently in mynde the intollerable gretnes of alle thyng. Trewely thoo wrechys that were therefencybly hadde experyence and felte alle these peynys and other mo infynyte. that no man maye tel of And amonge her sorrowfulle lamentacyons of complaynyng whyle euerychon of hem cryed Alas alas why dyd y so synne. alas why dyd not y penans for my synnys and amende my lyuung. they felte and remembryd her greuys peynys. Sothely their voycys of wepyng and sorowyng was exaltyd and lyfte vppe with so gret a cry that a man wolde haue wend hyt schulde haue be herd thorow all the world

¶ Of a doctour a lawe that was a sodemyte

¶ Ca xxvi



Rewly thawgh y refusyd as mekyl as y myghte to see and beholde tho thinghes that were done yn that place y cowde not auoide the knoweleg of on clerk the wyche y fawe and knew sum tyme Thys clerk in hys days was a doctur of lawe and also amonge other that were docturs of lawe he was had in that sciens ful excellent. Full many lerners of that faculte he ordende yn scoles wherby he gatte to hym gret famylarite of worshippeful men This clerke was largely posseste with benefycys and rentys of the chirche and yet that not withstonding dayly he coueytyd to haue more and more wherfore by the wille of god the whiche wolde haue alle men to be turne to penans. he felle yn to grete fekenes by the whiche he was fore vexid and defesid about a .ix. monthys. Sothely hyt was done of a meke dispensacion of oure sayur that he shulde by the scharge of fekenes and sorowe. dispose to corect and amende hys synful leuyng. the whyche whene he was yn gode helthe of body fowle and dedly trespast oftyn tymes to god. But he contrary wyse was ouer carkefulle of hys bodely helpe [helthe?]. the whyche he louyd ouer mekyl. and so vaynely presumyd and thought to haue hyt ageyne. wherfore he neuyr wolde dyspose hym to be confest of hys synys and specialy of hys fowle and onclene leuyng for the helthe of his fowle the whyche ys the fyrst and chefe dede of almys that a man schuld doo nethyr had any compassion on powre pepul to geue hem any almys nethir any thyng dyd to the sentys of god. as yn offeryng to hym mekely hys seruys. for the redempcion of hys synys nethir studyd or karyd to do any almys of his erthely and transitory godys as long as he leuyd Than the heuynly leche our sauyur seyng that he was neuyr in his dayes the bettyr for the fekenesse the whiche he hadde for his

warnyng the whyche he schoyd and gaue vnto hym for a gostely medefon. nethir wente owte of hys onclene leuing in the whiche vnclene leuing he was in by the affliccyon of hys grete sekeneffe. Therefore the euyll and wekid faites and dedys. that cowde not be clenfyd and purged in hys yonge aage oure lord ihesu crift mercefully putte and ende of hem in hys dethe what more mercye myghte be done vnto hem the whyche after their hardneffe and impenytente herte. trefur to hem fro daye to daye the wrathe of owre sauour ihesu cryfte. in the daye of hys wrathe and also of schewyng hys ryghtfull iuggement. and alsoo to be rescueyued in to the nyghte of dethe in the whiche nyghte of dethe no man may helpe hym selfe. for thanne no man may labure any thyng for to deserue. thanne that sone her lyfe of thys world be schortyd and alsoo fro hem takyn awaye. in the whyche her synnys and mysdedys encrefyn and growyn to her perdycyon and destruccyon: And what thing myght be more holsummur to them the whyche by her folufneffe and madeneffe with a scharpe swerde koueyten and desyren to adde strokys to her owne propre wowndys thanne that they be bounde and also her wepynys takyn awaye / the whiche they mysufyd to her owne propre hurte and dammage. Thys forseyde clarke the whyche y knew sum tyme in my chylhdhode and yong aage. y vndyrstode nor y knewe not that he was dyscefte and ded. For that same tyme in the whyche y knewe hym he remouyd fro that prouynce or place ther as he was wonte to dwelle in before vnto a nothir prouynce or place. Neuert[h]elesse yn alle fuche peynys and tormentys as hit ys aboue seyde y sawe and fownde hym and y merueyled of hit For y had wente he had be yet a lyue and also an honest person. Than y spake to hym and askyd whethyr he hopyd any tyme to haue the mercye of god And than he seyde Alas alas y knowe and knowe that athishalfe[at this halfe?] domys dayeyschall haue algate no mercye And whethiry schalle haue any thanne y am not certeyn Sothely euermore sethe y was putte here to these peynys they encrefyn more and more Then y seyde to hym And why were yow

not confeste of thy fynnys at thy laste ende and dydyft no penaunce for hem Than he seyde by cause y hopyd to haue recouered and also by the disceyte of the deuyl my gostely ennemy y was aschamed to confesse so fowle a synne. lest y shulde haue be of les reputacyon and dyspyfed amonge them the whiche y femyd glorious and fayre y confeste me of lytyl and smale fynys to feche an honest person and a worshipfull pryste that yow knowyft wele And whanne he askyd me yef y had any other thynges to be confeste of. y bade him go his waye and tolde him that yef any other thyng cumme afterward to my mynde y wulde fende for hym ageyne and tell him. And whanne he was gonne and onethis came to his chirche y begunne to deye Thenne anone he was cald for ageyne and whenne he cumme / he fownde me ded and gonne Trewly ther ys no thyng of a thousand peynys that y sofyr dayly so greuys to me as ys the vnhappy presentacion of my fowle and vnclene leuyng that y vfyd in the world. and now beyng here am compellyd to doo actually the same foule passyon. And besyde the horrabulle gretneffe of peynys that y am in. y am more confounded of schame whyle dat y am by the same synne made curfyd and abhomynable in the fyght of al men. Alas alas who euer wolde haue wende that the worfchyppe and fauour the whiche y hadde amonge men sculde be turned to feche confusyon and despexion as it is nowe wherfore ful gretely y am confowndyd and affhamed. for nowe to euery creature y appere foule and abhomynable. the whiche before apperyd to euery man glorious and honorabulle. And thys he seyde with full fore and grete cryyng and wepyng And whyle y meruelde the wrechidnes and peynys of so grete a man sum tyme. y sawe howe he was ponysshte in innumerabulle w[a]yfys. and bythoo tormentys he was brought as to nought and dyffsoluyd by strenthe and hete of fyre and so made lyquyd as led ys whenne hyt ys mulde. Sothely thanne y askyd sent Nycholas my leder yf this mannys peynys myght be remedyde or helpe by any mene. And thanne he seyde whanne



the daye of dome ys cumme thenne schall crystys wille be fulfyllede He onely knowyth the hertys of alle men And then he wole doo to euery man ryghtfully. Therefore I coude knowe no thyng for certen of this mannys delyberacyon. Therefore thoo thyngys the whiche we haue spokyn of here before may wele be confyderyd as the scripture seyth in thys wyfe. *Non est ei bene qui assiduus est in malis et elemosinam non danti.* that ys to faye hyt ys not wele with hym that ys besye in euyll Nethir with hym that dothe non almys See nowe and confydre howe gretely they be holpe in placys of peynys by the doying of almys dedys. as oure lorde spekyth in the gospelle the whiche dyd hem in her lyfe. Thys clerke in hys lyfe was wise and wyttye in hys owne conceyte and trustyng to him selfe set ful lytyl to seche helpe of other by almis dede and good werkys for his synnys. that hathe wrought nowe to hym damnacyon. Loo so sone and sodenly he ys founde onwyse and madde. Conceyue nowe what ys here nowe seyde of thys clarke and a lytyl before what was seyde of a goldsmyth and opynly hyt confermethe the sentence of the scripture seyng in thys wyfe *Potenter potentes tormenta sustinebunt et exiguo conceditur misericordia.* yat ys to seye. Myghty men myghtyly schalle sofyre tormentys. and to a meke man ys graunted mercye. That goldsmyth and though he were a syner yet was in hys owne syghte meke and lytyl the whiche nethir by his connyng nethyr of any othir vertue presumyd but countyd hym selfe euermore onwyse and onstable by cause of hys synnys Therefore by the mene of almys dedys. and serues as he myght doo. gate to hym the helpe and soffragys of hys grete and myghty aduocatour and patron seynt Nycholas and so in tyme of nede he had helpe and mercy as he desyred And also eyn contrarye wyse thys clarke of the excellent connyng ryches and worschippe that he hadde procedyd forthe hys wekednesse. And by cause he thoughte hym selfe excepte in this worlde. fro the comon labur of men. Lo in so cruell and byttur

example he is not nowe ponysshte with othyr men. Also y sawe there hys tonge hauyng forthe oute of his hede and besyly brennyng as hyt were a bronde of fyre and yat veryly he sofyrd by cause that often tymes he peruerted ryghtwesnes as a man myghty in wordys takyng gestys and mennys persons. For he vsyd not only to iangyl idyle wordys. but also frowardly in wordys contrarye to wrothe ouer mekyl he had excedyd. Therefore no meruelle though hewereponyshte this wyse for fuche excessys and fawtys. whenne oure lorde spekyth in the gospelle of the ryche man the whiche for hys light speking and iangelyng at mete was fore ponysshte in hys tonge in a flame of fyre. Sorthely after this came to me that worschyppefull pryste to home this clerke was confeste of hys smale fynnyng as hit ys reherfed before And amonge other thynghys the whyche this worschiphul pryste herde of me y tolde howe this clarke afore seyde whenne he was confeste bade hym goo hys waye as for that tyme. and so anone dyde as hyt ys seyde before And when y had told him this he wepte ful bytturly and toke god to recorde that hit was very trouthe as y seyde and knewe wele. that the forseyde clerke seyde so to hym Therefore only of that multytude of wrechys y knewe this clerke that this seyde to me.



**S**Orthely thanne sone after that we were paste thys third place we came to a regyon where the foullys the whiche hadd done her purgacyon in purgatorye ioyfully restyd. in the whyche place many y knewe wele and founde hem there in grete felycyte and conforte. Trewely as touchyng the ioys of that place and the iocundnes and gladnes of them that were there as oure lorde wyll geue vs grace we schall afterward schewe and declare. but fyrst let vs turne ageyne thys

narracyon to thoes thynges the whyche we haue lefte oute of the peynys and merytys of some personys in especyalle. the whyche y sawe and founde in the placys of purgatorye as hyt ys seyde before.

**¶ Of. ii. personys that this monke sawe and spake with in the first place of purgatorye and first with a prior.** **¶ Ca xxvii**



Herfore a prior that was father of a relygyous place the whiche y knewe full wele sum tyme dysceste and deyde this fame yere. And of hys maners and condycyons y knewe many thyngys the whiche y leue oute at this tyme by cause of schortenes. Thys man and prior y sawe and knewe amonge the firste that were in peynys of the fyrste place of purgatorye that we came to. Trewly he was in ful grete and fore tormentys and sofyrd ful greuys peynys. sum tyme in fyre and sum tyme in stynkyng bathys of brimston and pyche medild to gedyr hoys face and chere was ouer wrechyd and dedful And assone as he sawe me he began mekely to call me and grete me whome with compaffyon of herte y grete also and spake to hym many thyngys. And y enquiryd of hym whethir he so sofreyd so grete peynys for the sawtys the whiche he dyd in youthe by cause perauenture he negligently kepte hys ordre that he toke to hym in hym in hys chyldehode And he seyde naye But neuertheles ful fore and byttyr peynys y sofre here not onely for myne owne synnys and excessys the whiche y dyd in myne own person howe be yt that y offendyth in many thingys but also for the wekydnes and mys gouernaunce of tho personys the whiche a lytyl before y had charge and cure of. For as touchyng myne own synnys y wulde sofyr as y myght here / thoes peynys the whyche be dewe for hem. For y vsyd to redeme and schast myne owne synnys by ofte confessyon and takyng discyplynys and besy prayers And al so by dyuers other weyes. Sothely

of these thingis ful fore greuyth me nowe the carnal affeccyon and loue that y hadde to my frendys. as fadyr and mother and other of my kynne of the whyche to sum of them y gate benefycys of chyrchys. whenne they were ful onworthy to haue hem and to othir y gaue right ondycretely man gestys of the godys of the monasterye that y was prior of and they nowe ful lytyl remembre me or doo any thyng for me in my nede. Trewlye the fauyr of pepulle and the loue of worschippe that y had me prinspaly noythe And alas alas for forowe. for and god take not mercy on me as y am nowe in peynys oute of mesure. so schalle y be withoute ende. The couetyse ambycyon that y hadde to kepe my worschippe. and the fere that y hadde to leue hit. so blyndyd the fyghte of my foule that y lowfyd the brydyl of correccyon to the willys of my fogettys and soffryd hem to doo and folowe her desyrys and lustys as my yes had be clofyd. leste haply yef y had correcte hem and refraynde hem from her lyghtnes they wulle haue be to me as enemyes to labure and to haue me out of my worschippe and prelacyon that y was in. Forthermore they that were gode relygyous men and had zeles and loue to kepe the ordyr. y no thing helpyd or faueryd in conferuacyon of the relygyon. but full inordenatly and contrary to vertue y wolde wyth other that loued hem not speke euyl of hem and detracte hem and cherysshe other that were ful euyl dysposyd and brekerys of her holy professyon and order And alle this y dyd a part of myne owne lightnes and a parte be cause y wolde defende my prelacyon And for hem to pleye lewde gamys and to speke and clathyr tryfullys iapys and other lewdnesse and also to goo and wandyr amonge secler folkys and ydelnes. hyt was leful to hem. as hyt was to me Therefore some of hem by thys cruel lyghtnes of me and that they sawe in me presumyd and sayde to do many full curfyd thyngys. wherfore here y am ponysshte withoute hope. howe be yt that y approuyd not her wykyd dedys Notwithstonding y knewe hem. and of a vayne drede. made lyke as yf y had not knowe hyt.

wherefore many of hem bode styll in her fowle abufyons. going fro euyl to wars. And some of hem contynued in euyl vnto her dethe whyle y leuyd in the worlde. and now they be euerlasting dampde. Also some other of hem yet hethir to leuyn contynually wars and wars in grete fynnys and dedly dedys. wherefore to hem and to me as y am agaste succedyth inextynguyble fyre. Also fro the howre that y paste fro my body. y ame putte to onspekehabule tormentys the whiche were as me femyth nowe ful lyght in comparyson of the peynys that y nowe sofyre. Sothely the firste daye after my dethe was to me more esuer thanne alle the dayes that y hadde fetthe And of alle the fynnys and fautes that nowe they done after my dethe of an euyl custome that they hadde before the whiche they be feyne to haue take by my neglygens. my peynys therfore ben euermore encrefyd And by cause that y knewe sum of hem that be ded and sum other the whiche yette leuyn. that haue flyd and falle befyde other fynnys. to that fowle and abhomynable synne that ought not to be named and therfore putte to hem no correccyon. no thyng y drede so mekyll. as the encrefyng of my peynys so largely tyl y be compellyd to sofyre the foule and abhomynable stenche the whiche they sofre and haue nowe the whiche dyd the same fowle and abhomynable synne for y know wele that the greuys peyne of that same stenche ys more intolerable and peynfull than any other peynys that fynners sofryn. And as ofte as they the whyche y lefte alyue dampnably offendyd. anone the deuyls ranne to me with grete scornes and vpbraydys and euermore and more with newe peynys encrefyng my tormentys. Also he tolde me what daye what place and what tyme after that he was paste oute of thys world and what person of hym hyt was and what synne he hadde done. And he told my many thyngys that they dyde and and seyde anone as they done any euyl the whiche y had sum tyme cure of. the mynystrys and wykyd angellys of the deuylle vpbraydyn me with the same

and anon they encrefyn my peynys Sothely ther was sum of the bretheren of that place the whiche this man aforeseyde was prior and father to that were accendyd by zeles of rightwyfnes and feruor of relygyon and dyd also grete labur and dylygens that alle inordinate fauors putte a fyde the puryte and honeste of her ordre myght be kepte And this y knewe was trouthe wherfore y feyde to hym. Howe than was hit noyfyd fer and brode that many thyngys were wel reformyd and amendyd before your ende in the place where ye were prior yf hit be nowe schewyd yow so mekyl euyl of hem that dwelle there yette. And thanne he seyde Trew hit ys as ye saye that mekyll thyng was correcte and amende more than yt was wonte to be before Neuertheles of her amendement haue y no frute ne mede but also my peynys encrefynge because y was ouer mekyl agentst her correccions and leste y schulde be correcte or tho thingys amendyd that be amendyd ful mekyl y lettyd Sothely y was affchamed of her opyn correccyon. but leste y bashyd to here hem ouer all schamfully dyffamyd. Trewly her condycyons were so froward and obstynate that vtwardly y hadde wende they had be incorrygible and what sum euer ys beleuyd to be done ther fore amendment. but yf the meruaylous power and myght of god helpe. hyt wyl be broughte done ageyne to noughte Alas alas why dyd y beleue euer to feche confels. Alas that euer y fauyrde and magnifyde feche persons by the whiche y dyd so offende the magestè of god so to let hem haue her wylle to doo what they wolde. Sothely foure persons there byn and tolde me her namys that y schulde feye to hem. but yf they sone do to god. euyworthy penaunce for her curfyd dedys and confels. by the whiche they haue losse hem selfe and other also the whiche haue done after hem they schalle haue the indycyble and euerlastyng tormentys of helle And trewly yf they dyd penauns and satisfaccion tyl domys daye they schulde thynke hit but lytyl in to the recompensacyon and expyacyon of the grete and longe schrewdenes

and curfydnes by the whiche they haue broughte me to this peynys that y am in nowe and with her wyckydnes they haue al moſte enfecte and cumbrid alle the howſe. Sothely onethys or lityl any tyme tho foure perſons y wulde diſpleſe but y was inclynynd and bowyd to let hem do what they wolde. Alſo fewe ther ben of al the couent that for me and for myn helping. Fully haue done and ſeyde the meſſys and pſalmys wyth other ſoffragys and prayers. the whiche of dewty they ſchulde ſeye and do for me according to oure relygyon. And many of hem for whome y am now in fore peynys haue done none of theſe thingys yet for me. therefore what for ſorowe and drede that y haue of theſe preſent tormentys. y am peynde on euery ſyde. Seche thinhys ſawe y aboute this prior and this wyſe he ſpake to me as hit ys aboute reherfyd.

¶ Of an ancreſ that he ſawe and knewe in the ſame place. ¶ Ca. xxviij



**K**newe alſo a certen ancreſſe the whiche was of a gode and honeſte conuerſacyon whome gretely y louyd and y ſawe her ther: as ſche had comme late fro the world. Trewly ſche was ſtable and ſtedfaſte in contynuauns and feyre of beholdyng. home the laborus weye that ſche had gon a lytyl had weryde. and with the peynys of fyre that other were inuoluyd here and there ſche was ofte tymes tochyd and ſum what brente. But ſhe ful lytyl counted hyt and haſtyd her ſpedly gretly profeting on the iorney that goyth to paradyſe. and this whan y ſawe y take god to record y had wende hyt had be ſum fantaſy and as hit had be a dreme for y beleuyd in no wiſe that ſche was ded. Than ſeyd y vnto my ſelfe. Y trowe that the merytorye leuyng of this ancreſ and ſeruaunte of cryſte ſo ys ſchewde to me by ymagynacyon. for trewly ſche that ys yette alyue in her bodye may not be here. Sothely the thirde daye

after that y was cum to my selfe ageyne a certen neybur of herns was here that y spake with and prayde hym to grete her wele on my worde. and al so that sche wylle whytfafe to pray for me. Than he seyde Praye ye also for her our good frende for ye scalle vnderstande that sche ys disceste and paste to god. Veryly y merueylyd gretly at hys seying And than first y beleuyd that hyt was trewe that y sawe of her in the first place of purgatorye Forthermore this generall condicyon of alle folk that deyon. y knowe there opynly. that alle pepule the whiche be ordende to perceue reste and blyffe before the daye of dome. hadde euermore fro the first howre of her dethe her peynys lesse and lesse. But yf hyt were so. that any of hem had leste to other that leuyd after by euyl exampulle occasyon of synne the whiche ryghtwyfly they myght wyte hit hem that dyd so before. and whyle they dede no satisfaccion to god for hit before her deth, wherby seche occasyon of synning leste to other schulde haue be forgeuyn hem also they yat greuyfly offendyd by the whiche they deseruyd euerlasting dampnacion begunne to goo fro ful bittyr peynys to wars and so by succeding of her peynys dayly her tormentys besyly encrefyn yat euery day folowynge is more greuoffor to hem then was the daye before.

¶ Of a certen bisshop that was there also.

¶ xxix



A certen bisshop y knew there in peynys the whiche onys y sawe and he was bore in thys ground of inglonde and had hys byshopriche be yonde see. Trewely he deyed thys same yere abowte the feste of feynt Myghel the archangel. For than y knewe opynly the daye of his passyng but nowe hit is fallyn out of my mynde the whiche that tyme was occupied aboute many thingys that y sawe. Sothely innumerabulle thyngys there were the whiche y dyd not wele note



nether cowde wele kepe in my mynde all thyngys that y had notyd. Trewely the fame man the whiche tolde me of the passyng of the ances as hyt ys seyde in the next chaptur before told me also of the passing of this bysshoppe but he knew not what tyme. Trewely another yong man. the whiche was cofyn and alye to the fame bysshoppe. and also in feruyce with hym whenne he leuyd cam home ageyn to his countrey of inglonde and brought certen worde to the todyr man that tolde me that the forseyde bysshoppe was dede Trewely y sawe this bysshoppe al moſte contynually brennyng in flamys of fyre and moſte be cause of his vycyus leuing that he leuyd in his youthe also he was torment in other innumerable wyfys and be cause y sawe sum ſpecial thinge aboute him y thought to remembre and ſpecially to ſpeke of him Sothely as he brende beſyly in fyre he had euer more a ful honeſt clothe apon him there the whiche not only was hurte by the fyre but also yt was yldyn and made by the fyre more feyrer and ſemlyor than hit was afore Thanne ſent Nycholas declared to me the reason of thys meruaylous thyng and ſeyde Thys preuylege he gate to hym whenne he leuyd. by a good dede the whiche he vſyd to doo And this hit was. Euermore he hadde compaſſion on powre pepulle that were nakyd and ful lyberally he vſyd to releue hem of that nede wherfore his clothyng ſchalle neuer lacke feyernes. tyl that he haue fulfilled his penauns and take of god the ſtole of euerlaſtyng ioye and blyſſe.

**¶ Of a certen woman the whyche was a poure mannyſ wyfe.** **¶ Ca xxx**



woman also that was a poure mannyſ wyf dyde this laſte yere with her huſbond the whiche was wele condicionde and in mony thyngys ful wele dyſpoſyd. Sche was ſum tyme ryght famylyarly belouyd of me. home

ful gladly y behylde there in lyghte peynys. in com-  
 paryson of other fwiftely goyng forthe to the grete mede  
 and worfchippe of heuynly ioyes. Trewely in thys  
 that fche vfyd incapyently to stolde and vpbrayde hem  
 that dyd her wronge and enmyte and in her herte  
 hylde rancour and fowernes agenfte hem. fche gretely  
 offendyd and therfore fche hadde fofryd peynys. Ne-  
 uertheles thys vyfe was to her inuynchyble by caufe of  
 her imperfeccyon and euer fche hatyd hyt and often  
 tymes wepte that fche coude not ouercome hyt. wher-  
 fore fche hadde the foner forgeuenes of that fynne.  
 Sothely fche was in her prayers ful deuoute and wele  
 difpofyd to almys dedys and hofpytalte more than fche  
 might wele do of her owne godys. And before her  
 dethe by long fekenes that fche had fche was prouid  
 and clenfyd as gold ys in a fornes by the whyche  
 al moſte fche hadde caſte fro her the ſcurſe and the  
 hardenes of her fynnyſ. Forthirmore fulfeldyn hyt is  
 in this dayes in the whyche. al moſte the condicions  
 of alle men gone oute of kynde. for the pure and clere  
 fymplycyte and innocentnes of the very chirce of god.  
 that any man leuyng in thys lyfe kepyth or rekeuerythe  
 fully the equitye and puryte of the holy goſpelle. the  
 whyche tyle a man fulfyller he may not dwelle in  
 heuynly placys nethyr ſchalle reſte in the mownte and  
 hille of paradyſe of ioye and blyſſe. wherfore what ſum  
 euer thyng of fynne and vncleneſſe contrarye to  
 equite and ryghtwyſnes cleuyth and reſtyth on the  
 fowlyſ that paſſyn hens out of this world hit ſhalbe  
 purged in a nothir world and ſo by her penauns the  
 weye and pathe of a ioyful reſtyng ſhalbe ſchewyd to  
 hem that be purged and clenfyd. and ſo thenne in  
 placys of reſte the entring of heuyn and euerlaſting  
 bliſſe ful largely ſhalbe oppynd to tho ſoulyſ for the  
 perfette deſyre that they ſhal haue ther to ſe god  
 Sothly this only muſt be takyn of tho fynnyſ whiche  
 by her light qualite or els by confeſſyon and ſatiffaccion  
 don for hem be granted of god to be changyd and  
 contyd among venyal fynnyſ. For as touching tho

fynnys yat be dedly and were not in this worlde by the remedy of confession and penans made light and venial hyt ys withoutyn doute yat he shal so be presentyd to his iugement in the world yat is to cumme as he is fonde in hys leuyng when he passyth oute of this worlde.

**¶ What peynys relygyous men sofryd for certen  
fawtes. ¶ Ca xxxi**



**S**Othely y fawe alle relygyous folke bothe of men and wemen how they sofryd certeyne peynys as wele for lytyl offenses as for grete fynnys and as hit were propyr peynes for fyguler fynnys And full fore as hit femyd to me were the leste peynys that they sofryd for ryght lytyl offenses as for immoderate lawghyng and ydyl wordys spekyng and that they sofryd her mynde neglygently ourr mekyl to wandyr aboute in vayne thoughtys or els for lyght brekyng the rulys and fourme of her relygyon as in lyghte and nyce behauing of gestur and in multyplyyng fignys to mekyl and so for goyng and wandryng out of her cloyster and cellys onprofetabully and also for many other thyngys in lyke wyse. For some y fawe ful myferabully wepyng and rowlling hoothe brennyng colys in their mouthys for eting frutys and herbys out of dewe placys and tyme not for any medfyn or nede. but for luste and appetyte And for immoderate lawghing they had betingys For ydyl speche strokys in her face. and for vayne thoughtys they sofryd greuys and varyante trowbulnes of the eyre. And they that offendyth in diffolucyon of gestur and behauyng were bonde with scharpe bondys and many with fyry boundys and for superfluyte of fignys by the whiche they hadde to gedyr lewde pleyes and ydyl gamys. sum of hem had her fyngers f[1]ayne and some had hem by knockyng fore broysyd. They also that were onstabule

wandryng here and there were greuyfly caste and throwe fro one place to anothis by the whiche her lymmys were fore hurte amonge hem selfe Also they that spake wordis of reboudye the whiche founned onclenesse or other wise agenst the honeste of relygyon were ponysshte there almoste as fore as for dedly synnys. Also who sum euer brake any vowys made to god or to hys feyntys speycially in tyme of drede and perylle for her helpe and delyuerans And afterward fuerte takyn of the same vowe sofryd inestymable tormentys.

¶ Of a certen knyght that brake a vowe ¶ xxxii



Monge hem that brake her vowys y sawe a yong knyght brennyng in the myddys of fyre whome y knewe sumtyme ful wele And as y enquired of him why he was putte in so grete peynes. thys he tolde me. My lyfe he feyde that y leuyd was but baren and vayne and also vycyous For y was insolent and nyse in pryde and elacyon and foule and vnclene by the vyce of lecherye. not withstonding for thys y am nowe speycially ponyssht by cause y caste aweye fro me the sygne of the holy croffe the whyche y hadde takyn apone me in a vowe that y made to goo to the holy lond howe be yt that y toke the croffe not for deuocyon but for vayne glorye the whiche y loued to haue hadde of the lorde yat y seruyd. Trewely euery nyght y labur in going as mekyl as y maye to make an ende of that pilgremage. But what for febulnes of strenthe and contraryufnes of the wedyr and also fcharpnes of the waye y am lettyd gretly that onethe y may goo at on tyme a full lytyl dayes iourney Sothely whenne the mornyng begynnyth. fleyn to me wykyd spirytyz beynge wodde yn al cruelnes. and drawyn me ageyne. to the place of my peynys. where euer more al the days tyme y am gretly peynde yn fyre. Neuertheles

wyth a certen amendement of leffur dyffefe thawght hyt be lytyl. And ageyne when nyghte comythe. y. am restoryd to the place where y lefte laste my iourney. and so y go forthe on my pylgrimage. and when the mornyng ys cumme y am drawyn ageyne and caste to peynys. And al that haue vowyd to go to the holy londe. and aftyr dyd caste fro hem her crosse. and whent not dedyr. yn lyke wyfe as y go. they be compellyd to do her pylgrymage. so yf they may haue the grace of god yn her laste ende to repente hem. as y had to repente me for brekyng of my vowe. and than by the holfum remedy of confession thys fynne yat was dedly fynne may be changed to a venyal fynne Othyr wyfe al that breke that fame vowe. be put to eternalle dampnacion.

¶ Also of another knyght.

¶ Ca xxxiii

**A**Nother knyght also the whiche welle dyde and paste to god a x yere a gon y sawe and knew there. This knyght that tyme the whyche y sawe hym had ouercome alle his grete peynys that he had sofryd before And therefore y sey he dyd wele For by that space of penans he wente wele toward the ioys of paradyse. Sothely he bare there on hys fyfte a lytyll byrddē lyke a sparhauke. Also in hys lyfe aboue alle men that were of that countreie the whiche he dwellyd in gaue gladly and lyberally to all pore pepul that came to hym hospytalyte. Trewely his wyfe dide afore him almoſte a xxx wyntyre after hoys dethe he leuyd continent and chaste. in a wydwardys lyfe redy and benyuolente to alle men whyls he leuyd And gretely merueylde why he yat was so honeste of leuyng and wele condycyonde in hys demening had not yette perceiuyd fully reste and ioie. Than he feyde to me that hit was not too be merueylde. For why whenne he leuyd he mighte ofte offende in many

wyfys. fpecialy by caufe that in hys youthe and child-  
hode. he was norifhte and broughte vppe delycately.  
and what for felifhypppe and hys yowthe. was drawyn  
to many noyfful thyngys of the whiche he kowde not  
fully be purgyd and made clene in worldly conuerfa-  
cyon. where he muſte conforme hym to the maners  
and behauyng of hem yat he dwellyd amonge. Sothely  
he complaynde that the hauke the whiche he bare on  
hys fyfte. paynfully tare his hande with her bylle and  
fcharpe cleys This tedeufnes of peyne. he fofryd as  
he feyde by cawfe that in haukyng the whiche he vfyd  
alle the tyme of hys lyfe. gretely delytyd to ſee the  
haukys whenne they flowe howe they toke other  
byrddys. The whiche haukyng he lefte not in hys  
aage. nethyr there of had any compunccyon. For he  
knewe not that ſeche a thing were any fynne. Many  
other thingis alfo y ſawe and behylde in this firſte  
place of purgatorye. e. as wele aboute hem that y  
knewe, as aboute other bothe of men and women of  
alle degreys and profeffyons of the whiche eueryche  
on of hem were ponyſhte in peynys innumerable. ful  
fcharpe and bytterly. as y haue ſchortely aboute ſeyde. vn-  
der a certen generalyte. wherfore theſe fewe thingys ſeyde  
now of many thingys. be ſuffycyaunt here at this tyme.

**¶ Of tho persons that he ſawe in the ſecund  
place of purgatorye.** **¶ Ca xxxiiij**



**N**Owe of tho thingys the whiche y ſawe and  
notyd in the ſecund place of purgatorye  
ſum what y wylle ſchewe and declare to  
yow Sothely in this ſecund place y ſawe  
and knewe many mo that were ſum tyme  
of myne acquaintanſe. than y dyd in any other place  
fore wepyng and ſorowyng in her peynys her ſynnys  
by the whiche they had brokyn owre lordys com-  
maundmentys wherfore they were alyenate and made  
ferre fro his famylyare knowledge.

¶ Of. iii. bysshoppys pat y fonde there.

¶ Ca xxxv



Hre bysshoppys that y knewe wele sum tyme I fawe there straytely bownde wyth fyrye chaynys oftyn tymes. turnyng and walowyng ful myferably. now yn gret fyre. and now yn scharpe stormys of hayle and snow and whyrle wyndys. and aftyrward yn a fowle stynkyng ponde of blacke watyr. Trewly they were ponyght dyuerfly. not fer from othyr. And on of hem was more bytterly torment than tothyr were and that was by cause he vsyd yn hys lyfe to fyttte amonge secler iugys. yn place and tyme of pledyng and ther yn. he toke a grete plesure and delyte and oftyn tymes he was. to many that pledyd her causis of god consciens a vyolent oppressur agenst ryghtewefenes. and therefore he compleynyd whyt an opyn mowthe that hys tonge contynually brende yn flamys of fyre. And as he was now brennyng yn fyre and now wete. And styftely froryn [stiffly frofen?] yn snow and froste. and now yn a stynkyng ponde. and now fowle ouerkeuryde yn fenne and plutte. hys tonge euermore conteynuyd yn brennyng fyre. The tothyr of hem othyr whyles neglygently brake hys chastyte. the whyche dede specially yn a byshoppe. was ouerfowle and abhomynable. and therefore was he drownde oftyn tymes yn the fowle and stynkyng ponde. that lythe betwene the gret hete and colde as hyt ys seyde before. Sothly a fore hys dethe he lefte the honowre and dignyte of hys byshoprye. and toke apon hym the meke habette of a monke. the whyche gretly helpyd hym. amonge othyr dedys of fadyffaccion. And al that so done. grete good and profette ther of cummyth to hem. For al they specially be holpyn by the meritys and prayers of the holy seynty. the whiche vsid afore the same habette and also ben knowyn and markid to rise vppe ageyne in the ordyr of hem the whiche when they leuyd here vt-

wardly leste this worlde or els at her laste ende in ful deuocyon forfoke this world. The thirde of these byshopys gretly delyted in worldly worschippe and vayne glorie. For the whiche synne he was ofte tymys bore vp an hye in ful hye spyrytys of flamys of fyre. and by cause he fille fro the loue of god by seche synne vnto the coolde of worldly slowfulnes. he was lette done brenning to the greuys coolde that was on the todyr fyde of the fyre. and be cause of the comyn euyl and peynys that thes thre ware in. was for the neglygens of foulys the whiche they had cure of and for the gret carke that they had of her riches and depexion of pore pepul for flatering of princys and imoderate carke of her kynnefolke. and as y may shortly conclude many thyngys in fewe wordys euerych on of hem fought after tho thingys that was to him selfe and not tho thingys that longyth to our lorde ihesu criste And the general euyll of these and many other prelatys that y fawe was the neglygens of her office delectacion of worldly worschippe and dyffymulacyon of her charge. and in alle these thingys ful heuely they forowyd by cause they mysufyd her powre that they had vndyr god to the grete hurte of hem selfe and to the perdicion of her sogettys and therefore the peynys of al seche prelatys were dayly encrefyd more and more as y haue tolde before of a certen prior that what sum euer her frendys that leuyd in the worlde dyd for hem as in messys almyfdede and seche other thingis by the whiche her peynys shold be leffy dayly her greuys peynys were encrefyd for the synful leuyng of hem the whiche they dedly fauerd and brought vp in her vicys or els be cause they dyd not correcte hem in dewe forme as yt longeth to her offyce wherfore al they yat for seche causys sofrid peynys gretly douted of her saluacion and were almoste in despacion So thly ther is no thing so greuys to hem that be in peynys as the oncertente of her delyuerans and also ther ys no thing that so mekyl swagyth the peynys and forowys of other as dothe a very hope and



seythefull truste the wyiche they knewe and haue by oure lordys mercye to be delyueryd. and they that were certeyn to haue an ende of her peynys and were not bonde to the certente of dampnacion. yat same certente was to hem a ful grete solace and conforte For as touching the euyl and hurte of despacion as mekyl as y can consider and remembre me after tho thingys that y sawe there hyt greuyth difesyth and tormentyth tho foulys that haue hit more than al other peynys done.

### ¶ Of an archebysshoppe of canturbery

¶ Ca xxxvi



**T** sawe also besyde these aboue seyde a certen person that sumtyme was of grete name and fame the whiche after the meke conuerfacion of monkys relygyon that he leuyd in before in the whiche he had leuid ful deuoutely as in bodely penauns in holy medytacions and many other vertues right excellently and at the last he was promotyd and made archebifhope of canturbery and primate of inglonde But alas for sorow for trewly the more therby he grewe in the sight of the pepul so mekyl he had fal and decrefyd in the sight of god the whiche behilde him inwardly and the fander had endid his life yef he had not be holpe by the mercy of god and the merytys of his good leuyng afore by the whiche when he was in relygyon a monke ful wele in good purpose and labore acceptable to god he had plesyd oure lorde Sothely when he was bisshope of canturbery and also specyaly ful excellent in conning ful lityl hede he toke to his cure. and to the gostely helthe of the peple For he onwyfyly promoted ful unworthy persons to benefycys of the chirche. and also he dredde and was aschamyd to execute the lawe for displeasing the king by hoys fauor hit femyd he cam to that dig-nite Also he studyd and thought by a colour of fymulacyon odyr wise then he schulde to troble hem the

whiche he knew were agenste his promoting of the  
 byshoprye and dignite that he had In these thingys  
 and feche other. he had gretly offendyd. Also in this  
 he was more to be blamid and more offendyd yat he  
 hyd and kepte close ful onprofetably the auctorite of  
 relygyon and wysdom that he had fro hem of home he  
 was ful excellently named and to home he might ful  
 gretly haue profet and ho sum euer so do they be  
 ordende to ful grete peynis. for they be a sclaunder  
 to the chirche of god while they plucke not vppe and  
 distrey the wekyd leuing and rotyd wysys the whiche  
 be sowyn in the hertys and conuerfacion of the peple  
 of god yat they haue cure and charge of nethir be  
 aboute by her office to edifie and plante in her sogettys  
 the nobulnes and condicions of vertu and honeste no  
 more than other that lacke bothe holynes and gode  
 vnderstanding Neuertheles our lorde sechyth afwel of  
 hem that had no conning in feche thingis as they shuld  
 haue had for to be hedys of the peple as of other the  
 whiche had connyng and vnderfounding how be it yat  
 they had hit but barenly and turnith hit to the more  
 tormentys and peynys of hem bothe Also for the opyn  
 and foule onchaste leuing of prystys and clarkys  
 bishoppis nowe a dayis ful gretly perishe be cause they  
 correcte not so grete a synne the whiche is a ful grete  
 iniurye and wrong to the heuynly sacramentys of holy  
 chirche. for in thoo bleffyd sacramentys al the lyfe and  
 helpe of crystyn peple is conteynynd the whiche as  
 mekyl as is in hem. be not aschamyd to defoule when  
 they be right foule and pollutyd Sothly of the negli-  
 gens of denys of archedekons and of other officers  
 mony thingis y saw the whiche y leue out to tel and  
 how by her consenting and simulacyon and for taking  
 gestys and mennys persons al the state of crystyndome  
 almoſte ys ouercome and subuertyd For this ys  
 opynly shewyd in the werkys and condicions of hem  
 that now leuyn Also the dissolucyon and floufulnes of  
 feche persons yat shulde haue a zele and a loue to the  
 peple of god requeryth and askyth eternal dampnacion

afwel to the clergy as to the laye folke and most to hem selfe and to her auctors Trewly for these thingis and many other inumerable in this wise the forseyde archebishoppe laborde in gret peynys vnder greuys complayning Sothly he was wel holpen there by the gloryus martir and archebishoppe of englonde sent thomas of canturbery home he had gotyn to him there a special patron and helper because when he went to the holy londe a pilgrymage in his lyfe tyme he hordende there an hospittalle for pilgrimmys and intytylde hit in the name of sente thomas to the gret fokyr and conforte of crystyn pylgryms. Trewely this dede y knew first in purgatory when y saw the forseyd bisskop in sore peynys but yesteryday y enquered therof yf hit were trew. and a certen person a religius man told me how yt was ordende and begunne Forthyr more gretly hit profet him the labur yat he had when he went on pilgrimage to ierusalem where he made yat place. Also many prystys that by the grace of god lefte her vycyus leuing of onchastyte in very contricion of herte with confession of mouth when they leuyd and be cause they had not do penans sufficiently y saw hem torment in innumerable peynys Trewly then y thoughte to my selfe yat ful few prystys were ther fonde of the gret nombre yat is of hem in al the world. that had deseruyd peynis after her dethe for breking her chastyte. and to thys hit was so answard Therfor ful few ben here torment of the nombre of feche persons for onethe it is seldynne sey yat any man of hem were very penitent and contrite while they leuyd for her synnys. wherfore hit ys no doute but yat the grete multytude of hem byn vtwardly dampde Sothly in al this visyon y saw no man that vtwardly hadd losse hope of saluacion nethir yat was in certente of eternal dampnacion. Neuertheles some yat were in greuys peynys had no knoulege when they shulde be sauyd and yat was most peynful to hem. And some that were in peynys knew a certente of her delyuerans and that was to hem a grete solace as hit ys here seyde aboue.

**¶ A certen Descripcion of diuers kynd of synfull  
peple and of her peynys.** **¶ Ca xxxviij**



**H**yt were to longe and oute of mesure yeffe y  
schulde reherse by name al tho persons  
the whiche y sawe and knew there of all  
condicions of all degreys and of all orders  
Also yef y schulde sey or be aboute to  
schew and declare synglerly the peynys and tormentys  
of euery syngler cryme like as hit was schewde to me  
at that tyme hit wulde be ouer teduse and weriful to  
the redder therof. For ther ys no synne wretyn in  
holy scripture but ther ys ordende in tho placys certen  
peynis to al that be doers of hem **T**[he]refore y leue  
oute and pas by menfleers auowtres fornicators. lyers  
and forfwerers glotyner trayturs couetyse folke. proude  
pepul enuyus popul. sclaunderers hateful peple and a  
thousand mo of this wyse to home all ys ordende ther  
synglerly ful grete peynes and greuys And ho may tel  
of al these thingys when they yat were good religyus  
men sofred ful fore and greuys peynys only by cause  
they delyted and toke a plesure of the feyernes of her  
handys and longe fingers Also weyfaring men yat were  
slayne of theuys in her iornay y saw hem ponyshite for  
her synnys in an yesy wise Theuys also of home hit is  
not to be leste oute in no wise that were for her synnys  
iugit to han[g]ing in this world and were only confeste  
to a priste orels opynly yatmoste helpith of her wykydnes  
and euyl dedys in very trew contricion of herte and so  
anon toke her dethe patiently forgeuing with herte al  
her enemyes and al maner wrongys and trespassys done  
to hem and alsoo her dethe in remysson of al her  
synnys y saw al seche with a special certen worschipful-  
nes put to ful softe and esy peynys Also other that  
were ponyshite and hangyd lyke wyse for theste and other  
mysdedys and wulde not opynly confesse her synnys in  
tyme of her dethe but hoping by fraude and disceyte  
of her gostely enmy the deuyl to scape harmles at that

tyme for the denying and excusing her fynnyys how be hit that they purpofyd in her herte to be confeste to a prifte of hem afterward and to do for hem condigne penans and alfo vtwardly to leue hem yef they coude haue and opteyne fpace therto as they hopid and yet coude not haue hit but fchulde deye and than in the lafte ende of her lyfe mekely befought god and his holy feyntys of mercy and helpe. al feche were ful greuyfly torment in peynys for her fynnyys Not withftanding nethir thefe had lofte hope of mercy and forgeuenes. Neuertheles they were gyuyd in fyry feturs and hangyd vp in the myddys of fyre on gybbettis home the cruel tormentours and fyndys alto bete and brake with fcorgyys and forkys and vpbrayde hem of crymys and fynnyys with grete fcornys and mockys.

¶ Of pofynners that he sawe there. ¶ Ca xxxviii



hey that were pofynners and pofynynd folke and alfo wemen that hadde cafte away and forfake her babys the whiche they had bore or had flayne hem or ellys by her curfyd crafte had caufyd hem to be bore afore her tyme. I fawe fuche perfons by full ofte betyngys and abrafyng of naylys alto toryn And alfo they were compellyd to drinke dyuers metals as bras and ledde multyn by fyre and medylde with full ftinkinge thingys the whiche brente her inward bowels and fo went greuyfly thorow hem. and when it was out hit was brought to hem to drinke ageyne. Trewly certen grete monfturs of creping beftis with horrabul and gaffful harmys cleppyd feche wemen: and ftykyd her naylys ful depe in her neckys and fydys and hauyng at her brestys fokyd her pappys with her venummys mouthe and alto gnew hem with her curfyd tethe

## ¶ Of vsurers also.

## ¶ Ca xxxix



Surers also y sawe howe they were dround in gret hepys lyke hyllys of brenning money complayning with grete sorowe and wayling by cawse they quenched not in hem when they leuyd in thys worlde the euyl flame and synne of couetyse.

## ¶ Of fygtyuys oute of religion.

## ¶ Ca xl



Religious persons that were fygtyuys that is to sey that ranne oute of her order by the whiche they had bonde hem self to the seruice of god and after turnid ageyne to the worlde and gaue hem to wordely leuing. as a dogge yat turnith ageyn to his vomet so gretely they were there smyt with peynys yat y can in no wise tell nethir declare her tormentis. and onethe ful bitter repentans and confession at her laste ende sau'd seche persons otherwhile fro euerlasting dampnacion Neuertheles her apostasye was ful long tyme and greuyfly ponyfhte.

## ¶ Of a certen kyng of Englund

## ¶ Ca xli



Vt what schal y sey of a certen prynce and sum tyme king of englund yat y sawe the whyche in his lyfe was ful myghty amonge al the princys of thys world. Sothely he was on euery syde pressyd and peynyd. that a man myght sey of hem as seint iohan the euangelyste seythe yn hys apocalyps thys wyse *Quantum se dilatauit. et in delicijs fuit. tantum datur ei tormentum et luctum.* That ys to sey how mekyl he dydde extende and magnifyde hem selfe and was in onlesful lustys and

delytys. fo mekyl geue ye to hym torment and heuynes. how ys that may concede yn mynde what gret peyns al hys body and lymmys were smytte wythe He fate apou an horse. that blewe owte of her mowthe and nose a flame blacke as pycche. medylde whyt a smoke and stanche of helle. yn to the greuys torment of hym that fate aboue. the whyche was armyd at al pecys as he schulde haue gone to batelle Trewly the armyr that he were. was to hym intollerabul peyne for they were as bryght brennyng yirne ys when hyt ys betyn whyt hamers and smythyth owte fyry sparclys by the whyche he was wyth ynforthe al to brende and whyt owte forthe the same armyr brende yn ful gret hete. and ladyd hym that ware hym wyth ful fore borhtyn. Also as tochyng hys helme hys shylde. and hys haburgyn. and hys legge harnes y leue owte. for by the brennyng hete and peyse of hem al. howe mekyl he was peynyd no man can telle Sothely he wulde haue geuyn alle the world yf hit might haue be so that he might haue be delyueryd fro on spurre with the whiche he was compellid to stere his wrechid hors to renne wherby oftyn times he fylle down hedlong Also the sadyle yat he fate in was stekyd thorow on bothe the fydyys with fyrye brochys and naylis the which was a gasteful fight for any man to beholde. and the maw and inwarde bowels of him yat fate in the sadelle were fore smyt thorow by the scharpnes of tho brochys and naylys. and this cruelly was he ponyghte for the onrightful scheding of mennys blode and for the foule synne of auowtrye yat he vfyd In thys too thingys he dedly offendyd ofte tymys and tho cruel tormentours wykyd fyndis ful gretly with derisions and scornys vpbraydyd him because he wuld be auengid on men yat flew his verryas harte and hynde boocke and do and seche other the whiche by the law of kinde ought to be slayne to euery man and therefore sum of hem he putte to dethe or els cruelly wulde mayme him. and for al thys he dyd neuer but lytyl penance as long as he leuyd Also ful myserably he complaynde yat nethir his sonnys nethir his frendys the whiche he lefte alyue and to home he had

gotyn mekyl temporal godys dyd or fchewyd for him any thing after his deth for his helpe and releuyng No thing he feyde my fonnys and frendys haue done for me in thefe peynys Alas lo y haue lofte alle my labur and befynes that y haue done ydylly to make myne heiers riche and mighty Alas for the falfe and deceuabul flatring of pepul and now what haue they brought or done for me vnhappy to home y gate and gedirde fo mekyl trefur and riches and to whome y gaue fo many rentys and poffeffions and for home fo gretly y offendyd god while y leuyd and now y am dedde non of hem doyth any thing for me Trewly y faw him fumwhat efyd and releuyd of his peynys only by the prayers of religious men. to home in his life for god he was full benyuolent oftyn tymes. and therby y vndirftode fpecyally that he hopyd to be fauyd. Forthermore befide al thefe thingys aboue feyde ful greuyfly he forowyd and was peynde. for by caufe he oppreffyd diuers tymes the pepul with ondue taxys.

¶ Of a bysshoppe yat was there in peynys and yet god shewid miraclys for him after his deth.

¶ Ca xlii



Owe as y remembre a iiii yere agon a certen bysshoppe was chose to be an archebyfshope but he was than hastely preuente of deth and fo disceste and lefte bothe Trewly this bysshoppe was inwardly in his leuing ful wele difpofyd and religyufly. for he was pure and deuoute in herte and clene of body that by the vfe and weryng of a fcharpe herre and other dyuers penauns: tamyd wele his owne flefche. He conformyd hys face and chere as hit femyd mekyl after the behauing of fecler pepul. and to efchue and refufe the fauer of vayne glorye the whiche is euer prouyd an enmy to vertu he shewid alwey in wordys and countenans gladnes and iocundnes when he was withinforth contrite in herte and in his affeccions Also his byfhop vyfd as it is feyd before to ponyfth as wel his dayly fautys by



the whiche in grete curys and harde thingys he had offendyd as he dyd other synnys the whyche he had done in hys yong age by dyuers chastmentys and ofte wepyngs. Also in hys office of byffhoppery. he had offendyd greuyfly in mony thingys by hys neglygens as other byffhoppys dyd of home y haue made mencyon aboue. Of this Byffshoppe y harde nowe opynly by the feyng of many folke. that by hym myraclys were schewed and done after hys dethe on feke pepull and febull. And I suppose hyt ys trouthe that oure lord dyd worfchype hys seruante with feche benefettys to geue other example and vndyrstondyng. that he herde and clene leuyng the whyche he leuyd ynwardly. plesyd owre lord ful wele. the whyche beholdyth only mennys hertys. Sothely yet fownde y hem yn peynys remanyng to hym wythowtyn dowte. ful grete mede and rewardys yn the euerlasting blyffe of heuene And he that beleuythe not them the whyche byn yn the peynys of purgatory. sum tyme to doo myraclys yn thys world. let hem rede the iiii boke of the dyaloge of feynt gregory. and ther he schal see fullyr an example of thys thyng. schewyd and done at Rome of an holy man yat was callyd paschasius a decon.

### ¶ Of a certen abbotte.

### ¶ Ca xliij



Certen abbot that was wele and religyous dysposyd and a man of gret sobirnes deyde a x yere a goo. the whyche bequethyd at hys laste ende to one of hys bretheren mekyl mony for to dele to the powre folke for the helpe of his fowle. Thenne this monke wyfyly and deuoutely fulfilled the abbottys wille and gaue alle that money to the pore pepul and nedy And where he knewe any yat were colde and hungry or smytte with sekene and were bore of honeste folke and wele condicyonde and were fallyn to pouerte wherby they had not to bye her leuyng. and to begge they were aschamyd to feche he wulde opyn hys hand after his powre and releue hem with mete and drynke schoys and clothys Also to ancrys and to wedowys to

wolde folke and to powre scolers he gaue mekyl commaunding hem al to praye deuoutely for the foule of him for whome that money was geuyn And also they dyd ful spedly And whenne this trewe and feythfull monke had geuyn to pore peple alle that was be takyn hym he fylle in to sekeneſ / by the whyche long tyme he was wele prouyd and purgyd and dysceſte a foure yere a goe and made a bleffyd ende. And bothe the forfejde abbotte and the monke y fonde there in purgatorye Trewely the abbot was holdyn yette in ſcharpe peynys and moſte by cauſe that ful carnaly and ouer mekyl he louyd hys kynnys folke and alſo was to hem ouer large in geftys of the goodys of hys monaſterye and ſpende on hem mekyl more than was conuenient to do. Playnly that ſame vyſe that ys to feye carnalle loue to kynred more thanne ryght requyryth. full fore greuyth al moſte alle maner of peple that were profeſte to holy relygyon in her lyfe. and alſo al them that were dyſpenſours of holy chirche goodys as byſshopys byn and ſuche other the whyche ſpende hem probably in other vyſys than they ſchulde. And as y geſe of hem them whiche waſtyn the godys of the holy chyrche wherby they were made ryche in dyſſolucyon of clothyng in voluptuous metys and pompys of the world ſo ſchalle they that vſyn ſcarſly to her nede the godys that they haue though no thing of hyt be ſpende in vanyte. ful ſtraytely geue acomtys of ſuche godys as they haue and kepe and remeynyth aboue her yede Sothely they ſchuld fiſt geue of here goodys more largely to the pore pepulle of her pariſhonſe and afterward by diſcrecyon helpe her faders and moders as they nede alle ſuperfluyte putte aſyde and alſo releue other pore folke and ſo deſerue mede of god withoute any offense. For ther in purgatorye y knewe fiſt this rewle ordende to byſshopys and abbottys perſons and vicars of the chirche the whyche can not be brokyn withoute grete vengns. And yere y ſawe theſe thyngys ſo ordend. full ſer y thought odyr wyſe of hem. For y knewe afore that the maners and condycyons of ſeche prelatys were ferre fro hyt and odyr wyſe demenyd And alle that kepe and fulfille


this lawe and ordenans as ryght and reafon requyryth fchalle fo be rewar dyd of god for hem as they hadde geuyn alle fuche godys of her owne propre patrymonye. Therefore thys Abbot afore feyde among fore and greuys peynys and tormentys haftyd hym toward the reſte of paradyſe. And as he ſawe and behylde the forſeyde monke hys brother the whiche was there in a certen parte beſyde remouyd fro the greuys peynys and tormentys that were there. and ful lyghtly peynde in com- paryſon of hym bowde hym ſelfe oſtyn tymes to the ſame monke and thankyd hym with bothe hys handys for the grete charyte that he ſchewyd for hym in the dyſtrybucyon and delyng of the forſeyde money that he delyueryd to hym. And the monke ſchewyd hym ſelfe to the abbot that behylde hym ful gracyous of fyghte and gladſum of chere. For he was right feyre and ſembly in whyte clothyng thawghe they were reſperſte and had on hem a few ſpottys. And whenne y ſawe thys y merueyled in my ſelfe. Thenne ſente Ny- cholas yat hylde me by the hand tolde me this of hym. Knowyſt this monke that thou ſeyſt. he ſeruyd and pleaſyd god ful wele in hys lyfe wyth grete clen- nes of herte and chaſtyte of bodye. and mekyl euyl the whiche ſchulde haue be done in the place were he was he lettyd and was agenſte hyt. For he was ſeruent in ze- le of ryghtwyſnes and hatyng euyl of herte wherfore many proues oſtyn tymes pacyently he ſofryd for the de- fenſe and honeſte of his religion and ſpecyaly of hem the whiche ware the habet of religyon apon hem for that entent that they myght dyſtroye the vertuus leu- ing and conuerſacion of relygyon ful beſyly ſeruyng not her ſpiryte but the wrechidnes of her fleſh and the worlde in the monaſteriis of ſpyritual and goſtely leu- ing. And alas for ſorow for now by ſeche perſons the ſpe- cyal worſchyppe and honoure that holy chirche was of before is almoſt brought to nought whyle the muitytude of carnal and worldly men encreſyn aboue noubre. home the fewnes of ſpyrytuall men ſofryn cheſyng rather to dyſſymulle and not to knowe her euyl and ſo to reſte hem ſelfe than by her blamyng and reſyſt-

ing ftere and moue agenfte hem the wrathe and trow-  
bullus haftynes of fuche euyl dyfpofyd perfons And  
thaught they foo do yette they can not be fewer fro the  
fpyes and fraudys of hem And as fum tyme yfmael  
that was bore carnaly purfewyd yfaac that was bore  
fpyrytualy that ys to feye by a fpyrytual promyfe of  
almighty god. lyke wyfe hyt is nowe. For carnal folke  
ben ful greuys to fpyrytuall pepul. be caufe they can  
not peruerte hem to her frawardnes Also many ther  
byn that gretely hyt ys to forowe the whyche in her  
leuyng begunne fpyrytualy. but by proceffe of tyme  
owther they be ouercumme by onftabulnes or els ben  
dysceuyd by fymplynes. and alfo they falle done fro  
her purpofe and begynnyng vnto the myferabul and  
wrechyd corrupcyon and flowfulnes of this world. en-  
tyfyd and drawyn by the examplys and counceleys of  
euyl dyfpofyd perfons. Trewly thefe grete hirtys of  
relygyous leuyng the whyche before in the tyme of  
faders. ful nobly flowryd and fchone as an heuynly  
lyght. ful gretely beholdyth the Prelatys of holy chyrche  
in thys dayes. that knowen thys and despyfen hyt. in  
fo mekyl that they vndyrftonde not hem felfe. that hyt  
ys fo wyth hem They knewe veryly what thyng they  
be cum to. but they what thinge they fchulde haue  
cum to. becaufe yat they be cum to the lufte and ple-  
fure of thys world but they fchulde haue cum to the  
folowing of cryftys pouerte. and to the karke and dily-  
gente keypyng of her cure. that ys the pepul of god  
commytted to hem. And therefore that they feche and  
that they care. For that they be cum to and that they  
haue. The pepul of god they fede not but diftroye  
and hem perauenture that they haue turnyd fro ryhht-  
wyfnes they fleyn fpirytuallly and lefyn. for her con-  
formyng to hem not fhewyng hem felfe faders and  
pafors. but woluyes and theuys. Trewely the promot-  
yng of fuche perfons kyngys and byffhoppys and other  
grete men procuron and gete. and her fogettys ful  
mekyl loke ther aftur not beyng rectors and faders.  
but peruerfours and destroyers of her fowlys the whiche  
thynkyn that alle thyng that ys vnder hem that lykyth.

ys leuefulle. why by the rightwes iugemente or god byn remys trowbuld and chyrchys confowndyd and the flate of erthely folke vtwardly fubuertyd And for feche demenyng they be acurfyd of god the whyche fchulde be deuowt and meke interceffours to god bothe for hym that byn a lyue. and for hym that byn dede by hoys meritys and prayers. fpecialy the welfare of al cryftyn-dome myght be preferuyd and encrefyd and al euyl fer put away fro the pepul of god And whyle fent Nycholas complaynyd of feche thynghes and of many othyr yn thys wyfe. and remembryd alfo fome thyngys that were of grete commendacyon and laude of certen perfons. the whyche yn her tyme flode ful manly yn feche perels. and flrenthyd othyr fo to doo y faw ful many on euery fyde me the whyche y knewe be fore fore holdyn yn ful greuys peynys and tormentys Trewly y lokyd moft apou hem that y knew a lytyl be fore and louyd ryght fpecialy.

¶ Of an abasse also.

¶ Ca xliiij

 F the whiche a certen worfchipful abbas was ther that blessedly pafte thys fame yere owte fro thys world tawarde the euerlaft- yng lyfe and ioys of heuyn. Sothely fche tolde me many thyngys bothe of her flate that fche was pafte and of her flate that fche was yn. alfo fche feyde many thingys to me the whyche y fchulde telle to her owne naturale fifters that were vnder de tytyl of virgynyte amonge othyr holy virgenis yn the fame monafterye. that fche was abbas of by fome certen tokyns of the whyche fome y wolde telle that fchulde be to the herers of hem ful graciuf and good but that fche bade me telle hyt to no nothyr. faue to hem that fche commawndyd me Sche feyde alfo that fche hathe refceuyd mekyl releuyng and helpe of her peynys by the deuowte prayers and pfalmys of her fyfters the feruan- tis of god tho home be fore fche was a fpiritual modere. And fche commawndyd me to thanke hem for mony good dedys the whyche they haue done for her and

for the sofragys of messys and othyr holy prayers that they haue gotyn for her as they myghte of certen religious persons. And more ouer they haue made and ordende to be offerd to oure lord dayly withoute any cefyng for me messys and other deuoute prayers And therefore lete him knowe withouten doute that they schalle haue therefore ful grete mede and y also haue scapyd ful scarpe peynys. And yf they perseuere as they haue begunne. sone y hope to scape the remnande of my peynys. Sche tolde my also that gretely hyt helped her that before she was made abbas sche schewyd and behauyd her selfe with grete compassyon ful mekely to some of her systers that were fore vexed wyth grete sekeneffe or temptacyon and ful ofte dyd alle maner of seruyce deuowtely that were right foule and abiecte in the monasterye.

¶ Of. ii. yonge nonnys that were lepur ¶ xlv



Here were sche seyde on a tyme in owre place. ii. yonge vyrgyns the whiche were ful fore infecte with the grete plage of lepur. And for asmoche that in many placys of her bodyes. the flesche was falle downe to the bonys and the skynne aboue. oftyn tymes horrably blyster owte of bleynys. And alle my systers of owre monasterye lothyd alle moſte. to see or vyfite hem or to toche hem but to me me thought and femyd full fwete. to haue and opteyne hem yn my lappe or holde hem in my harmys. and forthermore alsoo to wesse hem in bathys. and also to wype her fores wyth my fleuys. and they ful wele and gladly sofryd that plage of lepur and tankyde god of that chastement and dyffese And so delytyd hem yn hyt as they had recyued of hym graciys gyftys of diuers ornamentys And where alytyl whyle agon. they were peynyd yn the worlde by a longe martyrdom. now ful bleffydly they folowyn the heuenly lambe her spowse ihesu cryfte wyhtowtyn any spotte wher sum euer he goo. And for they pety and charyte that y had and schewyd to hem

yn her nede y haue euermore had yn al my peynys. a swyfte refreschyng and releuyng of helpe. Also many othyr thyngys the fame abbas tolde me amonge the whyche s<sup>c</sup>he complaynyd that for on thyng that she dyd she had sofryd fore peynys and that was by cause. neglygently s<sup>c</sup>he leste a certen chylde a yonge scoler. that was destitute of al hys frendys. and was comytted to her of a certen byshoppe for to be browght vppe. and therefore the chylde leuyd longe tyme in grete dyscomforte and heuynes. Also y saw and knew sum of her systers that were noonys of her monastery ther yn that place of purgatory yn lyght peynys.

¶ Of a knyghte that synnyd yn simony ¶ Ca. xlvj



Certen knyght that was patron of a chyrche solde on a tyme a personage to a certen clerke for. xxvij. marke. Sothely aftyrwarde he repente hym of that dede. and for the fatisfaccion of so grete a synne he toke the crosse to go the holy londe. and to vyset owre lordys scepulcur yef he myghte. and for hys offensys there to aske god forgeuenes and mercy. Trewly that tyme. the hethyn folke had put thens crystin pepul and so occupied the holy londe. Then were cristen pepul gedyrde of al coostys of the worlde to fyghte agenste hem. and to dryue hem away and so thys knyghte yoynde hym selfe to goo amonge hem. And aftyrwarde he was smytte wyth fekenes. and endyd hys lyfe yn that journey. Sothly y fownde thys knyghte there yet yn mene peynys. And he tolde me that for the synne of fymony that he dyd. as hyt ys a fore feyde he had sofrydful greuys peynys and gret. And more ouer he seyde. yf y had not be preuent by the mercy of god to repente me ful fore afore my dethe for that synne of fymony yn no wyse schulde haue scape eternal dampnacyon. And the labur of the pylgrymmage that y toke for god tawarde the holy londe. gretly efyd me of thoo peynys. that were due for the same synne. Also hit was grawntyd me by the goodnes of god that y

schulde fende to her that was my wyfe. by a feythful clerke warnyd yn hys flepe of me. that fche schulde orden to be feyde for me. v. tricennarijs of messys wyth the offycys of *placebo* and *dirige* as the chirche had ordende for hem that byn dede and of feche pryftys that were of honeste and chaste luyng. of the whyche. some y tolde by name. Than fche made these messis wyth othyr thyngys a fore feyde. to be trewly done for hym. and aftywarde fche rewardyd hem as they were worthy by the whyche he feyde hys peynys were ful gretly abatyd. For a bowte the begynnyng after my dethe oftyn tymes y was compellyd dayly to deuoure tho pensys hote and brennyng that y had takyn of the pryfte and person afore feyd. And nowe by the mercy of god y am delyueryd fro that grete tormente. and that was moſte for the suffragiis the whiche was done for me. And yette y am conſtrayned ful fore to sofyre the scarpnes of colde. by cause whenne y leuyd y had not compafyon on powre and nedeful people that were clothles and coolde. And oftyn tymes whenne y gaue hem mete and drynke y wuld be ryght wele warre by the vyce of hardnes to ſpende no money apon hem. Thanne feyde y to hym. what and there were done yet ageyne messys for you schuld ye not trowe ye refceyue perfetly reſte. Thanne he feyde. yys and there were done for me. vii. tricennariis with the officys longyng to hem this ys *placebo* and *dirige*. y hope that anone as they were done for me. y ſchuld be delyueryd fro peynys to euerlaſtyng reſte. Here nowe hyt ys to be vnderſtonde that thys ſame knyght after his deth as y knowe hyt nowe withoute any doute. apperyd in a vyſyon to the ſame clarke afore feyd. and aſſygned hym. v. ful chaste pryftys and choſyn by name. that ſchuld feye these messys and other thingys lyke as hyt ys feyde aboue. Hoys perfons and namys and the placys of her dwellynges the whyche dylygentely he expreſſyd were to hym ſelfe while he leuyd in hys bodye. and to y clarke that he apperyd to. and alſo to hys wyfe that dydde for hym vtwardly onknowen.



¶ Of a certen yonge monke that somme tyme in  
hys dayes was sexten of the chyrche. ¶ Ca xlviij



Certen yonge man a monke that somme tyme y had feyne the whiche in many thyngys behauyd hym relygyously and he was also sexten of the chyrche where he dwellyd. Sothely there were in thys fame chyrche. iii. or. iiij. ymagys of our bleffyd lady sent marye hauyng in her lappys the ymage of oure sauour ihesu cryste yn fourme of a lytyl babe and they were sette at euery auter on right wele peynted and feyre arayed wyth golde and diuers other colours. the whyche schewyd to the people that behylde hym grete deuocyon. And before euery ymage hynge a lampe. the whyche after the custome of that fame chyrche. were wonte to be lyghted at euery pryncypale feste thorowe alle the yere. bothe by nyghte and by daye enduryng fro the first ensonge vnto the second ensonge afore the forseyde ymagys of owre bleffyd lady seynte Marye. And alsoo thylke lampys lyghtnyd alle the chyrche abowte. Trewely hyt happonde apon a tyme in the forseyde Sextenys dayes. that grete scarfnesse of oyle was in that countreye that fame tyme. and also there was no man that there had any oyle thanne to felle. and seldyn hyt was that any stranger at that sesyn putte forthe any fuche chafer for to felle. where fore the forseyde sexten. by cause he wyfte not. where he myght gete oyle for necessary vsys the mene whyle he withdrew the lyghte fro the forseyde lampys. as hym thowghte he myghte lesfully doo how be hyt that he had some yn store. but he drede lest he wyld not suffice tyl he hade more. so that on ascensyon day and wythffonday he put no lyght to hym. the whiche yn these festis specially were wonte to brenne. But he went not onponyghte. Sothely the thyrde day yn whytffon weke when he was feyen yn al thyngys ryght hole and fownde sodenly he was smyte wyth a ful scharpe axces. and so a vexid ther of that he was madde and owte of hys mynde and on thewysday the nexte weke aftir he

dyde And on faterday by fore hys dethe. when he was almoſte at hys laſte ende. he ſaw yn a uyſyon the quene of heuyn owre bleſſyd lady ſent mary. ſtondyng on a grice of a certen wyndyng ſteyer yn the chyrche that was by on of the ſame ymagys of owre bleſſyd lady aforeſeyde And when he ſaw her he cryde to her remembryng hys ſekenes and perelle and ſeyde. O holy and bleſſyd mary. haue mercy on me. Than ſche andſwerde hym ſcharply bothe yn worde and yn chere ſeyng thys wyfe. Thow haſte take fro me the worſhypp of my lyghte yn erthe. and y ſchal ageyn take fro the the lyghte of thys preſent lyfe. Sothely whenne he herde and vnderſtode this thretyng he was fore aferd and abaffhid and no meruelle. and caſte hym ſelfe done at her fete with grete wepyng and forowyng and aſkyng for[g]euenes of hys trefpas and promyſed amendement Thenne oure bleſſyd lady hoys thretyng ys wonte to be of mercye mekely behylde hym and made a ſigne with her hand ſchewyng hym the grice that ſche ſtode apon and ſeyde. Sytte done here Thanne he begunne as hym thoughte to fytted done ful fore aferd at her fete. whenne ſche ſodenly vanyſhte away. And whenne he was cumme to hym ſelfe ageyne callyd for hys bretheren and tolde hym thys vyſyon that he had ſeyne and prayde hem and alſo bade hem with grete inſtaunce and wothys that the nexte nyghte with the daye folowyng. the lampys afore ſeyd ſchuld be lyghtynde and brenne. as the cuſtome was before Alſo he made a vowe that and he myght haue hys helthe ageyne he wold contynally kepe forthe and encreſe the forſeyde lampys to worſchyppe and lawde of the glorious vyr-gyn and moder of god oure bleſſyd Lady ſeynt marye. But he cowde not calle ageyne the worde and ſentence that ſche ſeyde to hym And ſo he dyde the tewſday after trynitye ſonday and as for the reſtoryng of the forſeyde lampys ſome ſatyſſaccyon he dydde for his offence and trefpas. Trewly yette hethir to was he holdyn in peynys and tormentys bycauſe often tymes he had offendyd in kepyng of hys relygyon and in ſey- ing of dyuyne ſeruyce And alſo he was lyght of be-

hauyng and ondycrete as in etyng and drynkyng. lawghyng fpekyng. iapyng and in many other mo.

¶ Of a certen clerke that leuyd holyly ¶ Ca. xliiij

**F**Orthermore a certen clerke that paste oute of thys world in hys yowthe y sawe there in the same place the whyche by the inspyracyon of the holy goste bothe in connyng of dyuynyte as in other lyberals facultees passyd al mooste alle other that were hys felawys. Sothely he was there peynde in a light and amene wyse gladly goyng forthe by the testymony and witnes of a goode confciens that he had toward the ioyes and reste of paradyse Trewely he was ful wele disposyd of maners and condicions and studeyng in scolys pure of chastyte and benyuolente in charyte with other gestys of grace by the whyche he plesyd oure lord ful wele. Also he had gotyn to hym specyaly the loue of the mooste gloryus vyrgyne the modyr of god oure bleffyd lady fent marye home he seruyd ful deuoutely in hys lyfe and ful oftyn tymes wachyd longe in prayers before her auter with a ful meke spyryte and a contryte herte and for her loue gave to pore pepul mekyl almys wherfore withoutyn doute thys remaynyd to hym of the same bleffyd lady in heuyn euerlastyng ioye and grete mede And for the houre of hys passyng oute of thys world he had refceyued mekyl refresshyng and by her contynual solace and helpe was mercyfully also in hys peynys fokyrd and confortd Sothely whenne he was schewyd to me he was sum what dyffesyd and peynyd only by the intemperans of the eyre as in coolde and in hete Then y enquiryd and he had sofrid any other peynys afore. And hyt was tolde me that he had sofryd other whyles amonge the peynfull hete of thirste. and that was becaufe whenne he abowndyd in temporal goodys he was more harder to the pore pepul than he schulde haue be. or ryghte wolde And trewely he had gret compassyon of hem. and mekyl he dyd in hys lyfe to helpe and releue hem.

But neuertheles oftyn tymes he was wery of hem. and speycaly after that he was waxin rycher in so mekyl that before when he was powrer and had not so mekyl he was more lyberale to powre folke than he was after whenne hys goodys were encrefyd And therefore full fore hyt ys to drede howe streytely they shulde geue acomtys of her dispenfacyon that haue refceyued benefytys and ryches of the chyrche. owre lord yhesus feyyng thys wyfe yn the gospel. *Cui plus committitur ab eo plus exigetur* that ys to sey To home more ys commytid or be takyn. of hym more shal be askyd Now sothly by cause whe haue here trewly wretyn yn wordes mony thynghes that we fownde and saw yn placys of peynys let vs here ende owre narracion of hem And astirward as god wyl geue vs grace we wyl afaye to telle and declare some thyngys that we saw of the conforte and gladnes of the bleffyd fowlys the whyche restyd hem yoyfully yn the ful mery and yocunde place of paradyse.

**¶ Also of paradyse and of the multitude of pepul that he sawe and founde there.** **¶ Ca xliix**



**N**Owe of the folace and conforte of the bleffyd fowlys that byn scapyd her peynys and be at reste and of her euerlastyng ioys. sum what y wille tel you as y can and may For no man may sufficiently And whenne we were paste and gonne these thre placys of peynys as hyt ys aboue seyde and had beholde the grete peynys and dyuers tormentys of fynnarys. we wente forthe farthir And as we wente farther. there begunne to appere a lytyl and a lytyl more and more a full feire lyghte vnto vs and with al brake oute a ful plesaunte fwete sauyr And anone after we cam to a fylde the which was full of alle maner of feyre and plesaunte flowrys that gaue to vs an oncredyble and inestymable conforte of ioye and plesure Sothely in thys fylde we sawe and founde infynyte thousandys of fowlys ful iocunde and merye in a ful fwete reste after her

penauns and after her purgacyon. And hem that we founde firste in the begynnyng of that filde had upon hem white clothyng. but hyt was not very bryght nethyr wele schynnyng. Notwithstondyng they had no spotte of blacknes or of any other onclennes on hem as hyt semyd. saue thys as y seyde before they were not very bryght schynnyng whyte. Trewely amonge these many yknewe the whyche sum tyme y sawe and knewe ful wele whenne they leuyd in thys world. Of the whyche schortely sum what y wylle telle yow and of other y purpose to cesse.

**¶ Of a certen abbas the whyche he sawe and knewe there also.** **¶ Ca. I.**



**H**ere in thys place was a certen abbas that was of worschipful conuersacyon. the whyche y knewe whenne y was a chylde. and sche dyed a xiiii yere agone. Sothely sche had grete feruour and zele to chastyte. and to alle other honeste Also sche was wyse and warre and deuowte in kepyng her sisters. to whome sche was commytted Thys abbas y sawe amonge them that were in the begynnyng of that ioyful place. For sche was but as newe cum thedur fro her peynys. and sche had upon her clene clothyng but not verey whyte schynnyng. And sche semyd by her chere and dysposycon as sche had be longe tyme sicke or diffesyde and had cumme late fro bathys. I passe by here to tel of summe lyghte thyngys for the whyche sche had sofryd ryghte scarpe peynys. Sothely sche had not ouercumme in her leuyng the vyce and mocyon of vayne glorye. amonge the merytys of vertu and commendacyon of flatteryng and of other thyngis innumerabulle y passe by. in the whyche the febull ignoraunce of good pepul often tymes offendythe Trewely sche told me that sche had sofryd peynys specyaly by cause sche lound her kynnyng folke ouermekyl carnaly. and to hem gaue mekyl goodys of the place that sche had rule of. whenne somme of her systers to home sche was a spyrytuall moder lackyd sum tymes suche thyngys as

longed to her leuyng and clothyng. And whenne y harde thys of her. gretely y meruelyde. For y knowe not onethe any prelate in thys dayes. that vfyd fo grete scarfnes to her kynnys folke as fche me femyd dydde to her cofynis. And as tochyng superfluyte as fer as y knew. onethe fche gaue any tyme to hem that were of her kynne ther neccessarijs. Also her neuweys and necys. and othyr that were of her kynne she cowpulde hem not to carnal matrymony. but be toke hem to religyon for to ferue god. And fo sterne fche behauyd her yn wordys and yn chere. to hem specialy. that when fche was seyne to othyr strangers frendely and yefely. fche was only to her cofynis ryghte gastsful and on mylde. Also fche vfyd to enquiry ther sawtys ful warly. and when perauenture fche myghte fynde hem sawtye. ful bytturly therfor fche wolde hem ponyfhe. Also fche wolde haue the honeste of maners. and the clenness of chaftyte obseruyd and kepte. of al seruantys and persons that fche hade longyng to the monasterye. but mooste of hem yat were of her kynne. And ther was no brothyr ne fyfster that fche vfyd to fauer. as dydde othyr that were not of her kynne. And when y had seyde thys to her. and also that fche had browghte forthe many that y knewe to kepe deuowtly her purpose and habet of relygyon that they had takyn apon hem thys wyse the same abbas seide to me ageyne. Sothe hyt ys fche seyde as ye sey. But neuertheles for the carnal affeccyon and loue. that y had ynwardely to my frendys when y was bownde to the due gostely leuyng of religion. as wele by the reson of my professyon. as by the office that y bare. y kowde fynde non excuse. be fore the streyte iugement of god yn the whyche y was examynde to the vtturmafte poynte of my leuyng. And mooste by cause that occasyon of gruggyng. and example of ouermekyl befynes grewe to my fyfsters, by my sawte and negligens for the carke and befynes that they had to her frendys Trewly y schulde rathyr haue be warre and takyn hede of the hurte of her fowlys of home y had cure and charge. than the superfluyteis and prouyfyon of wordly goodys

to my frendys the whyche y lefte onys wyth the worlde for god. And when thys worfchippful abbas had tolde me thys and many othyr thyngys also. we wente forthe farther yn to the fame ioyful fylde.

¶ **Of a certen prior that leuyd deuowtly and dyed holyly.** ¶ **Ca li**



Saw and knew also yn thys ioyful place a certen worshipful person yat was a prior of a monasterye the whyche dyed a. iij yere agonne Trewly y saw hym ful blefydly amonge ye holy spiritys and bleffyd seyntys yn a ioyful reste. exempte and delyueryd frome al peynys. gladfum and mery of yat place yat he was yn but mekyl more gladder and that yncomparable for the certen bydyng that he boode. to haue the sight of god. And he bare euermore whyle he leuyd in thys world the habet of a monke bothe on his body and in hys herte fro the tyme of hys chylhdhode on to hys oolde aage and to hys laste ende. Also he kepeth and hydde the floure of hys vyrgynite in the bosum of mekenes and he cowpuld to hem ful fuerly the vertu of pacyens. Trewely he vsyd gret abstynence and longe wacchyng. and bothe too he ouercome by holy deuocyon. And whenne necessitye compellyd hym to be aboute werkys of charyte as hys office requyred for the tyme. he wulde euer amonge be seyng some salmys or other deuowte prayers to god. No man had more compaffyon to hem that were in temptacyon than he. ne no man was more deuowtur and besyur in seruyce to seke men / than he. Also he neuer denyed hem her petycyons and askynges that were dyffesyf al only of tho thyngis that myghte be hadde. And for to helpe hem that were in heuynes. a becke of warnyng was suf-fycyent. And whenne he was of seche holy leuyng and conuerfacyon. and also laborde cont[i]nualy mony yerys before hys dethe. in grete wekenes of bodye so that by hys febulnes and diffese he had vtwardly loste the sight of on of his yes a too yere before his obite

when other lymmys of his body faylde him for dyuers other dyffesis. and not withstonding alle thys yette wolde he neuer be fro the couent ne fro the quere ne fro the comyn table of the frayter where he was more fedde of the refeccyon of his brethyrne. than of hys owne Sothely aftyr hys yonge age. he vtwardly absteynide hym fro flesche metys neuertheles he wolde to his brethirne yat wer sickeluw and febul besyly and deuowtly profer hem flesche metys for her recoueryng And at the laste he fyl yn to a sekeneys yat ys called diffenteria And when he was al mooste browghte to hys ende. he toke hys gostely conforte and focur the holy and bleffyd sakyrment of owre lordys precius body and blode with hys laste anoyntyng. and so bode al mooste. x. days with owte any mete intendyng only the benefitys of god and the exhortacion of hys brethyrne Trewly the nyghte before the day yat he paste to god abowte the owre of diuynе feruyce. he saw owre lord ihesu and owre bleffyd lady seynt mary cummyng to hym. and with a ful meke sygne they made a tokyn to hym that he schulde folow hem. and anon aftyr callyd for hys brethirne. and declaryd to hem the visyon that he had feyne. and tolde hem before. and yat with a ful glade herte yat he schulde passe hens on the morow nexte. and so he dydde Longe hyt were yef y schulde telle and remembre all thyng that he seyde before hys ende. how he commendyd hym selfe and hys brethirne to god. and exhortyd hem to contynew yn good leuyng. hoys wordys and exhortacion was not of man. but of the holy gooste that spake yn hym Sothly then on the morow aftyr abowt the howr of tyrse lying yn aghys and yn herre when he had seyde the seruice of the day. and of the holy trinite. and of owre bleffyd lady. the whyche he vsyd euermore of a childe and when he had herde deuowtly the passion of owre lorde after the .iiii. euangelystys. and other salmys with grete compunccyon of herte betwhene the swete kyffyngys of oure lordys crosse and the salutacions of oure bleffyd lady. blessyng hys brethyrne deuoutely expyryd. Therefore thys worfchyfful fader. wyth home



fro my ryghte yonge aage y was ful wele acquentyd anon as y fawe hym deuoutely y grete hym and he grete me ageyne ful mekely and tolde me many thyngys.

¶ Of a certen yonge monke there of his Ca lii



**S**Othely thys worfchipful fader and Prior fchewyd to me ther also a certen adolcfente a yonge man the whyche in hys chyldhode with gret feruent deuocyon entryd in to relygyon and was a monke in the fame place and monaſterye yat thys worfchypful fader aforefeyde was prior of. and there he leuyd a good whyle but no longe tyme. for he was preuent haftely and ſone of dethe and ſo bleffydly he paſſyd out of this worlde Trewly y neuer ſaw hym in body Neuertheles often y haue harde the bretheren of the fame place tel of his pure and innocent leuing and alſo of hys holy paſſing mony thingys Then ſeyd the forſeyde prior to me of hym This ys my ſonne he ſeyde of home often tymes thou haſte herde. he was my felowe when y leuyd in the worlde in holy leuing and deuocyon. he ys now alſo my felowe going to heuyn. and ſchalle be an euyne heyre with me eternaly in euerlaſting ioye and blyſſe and the fame yonge monke alſo tolde openly to hys brethirne before his dethe the howre of hys paſſyng. And alſo heuynly melody was harde at hys paſſyng as many can telle that were ther in the monaſterie the fame tyme Treuly the forſeyde prior. what for diuers negligencys of hys owne doyng and for othyr diuers ſawtys of hys brethirne. he had ſofryd ſome lytyl peynys And the fame yonge monke alſo. as he had offendyd yn ful ſmale and lytyl thyngys. ſo he had felte afore ſum what of lytyl peynys. not wythſtondyng they were bothe equale yn wythnes and in ioye Sothly the forſeyde prior as hyt ſemyd had a truſte of a more greter rewarde for the more goode dedys and meritys of vertu the whyche he had by lengur leuyng deſeruyd.

¶ Also of a worschipful pryste.

¶ Ca liij



Saw also yn thys fame place a certen worschipful priste the whyche yn hys lyfe dydde mekyl good to the pepul by hys holy preching Treuly he had grace of prechyng so ioynyd which the zele of ryghtwefnes and with good example of leuyng. yat he callid not only the pepul of hys owne paryshons fro wekyd leuyng and dedly dedis. but also he enformid and tawghte innumerable pepul of other parishons ferre and brode. how they schulde leue her fynnys and fulfille owre lordis commandmentis and how they schulde dayly encrese and perfet in goode and vertus leuyng and so to continew to a dew and a conuenient ende And sothly summe were so ferre fallyn yn to the deuyls bondys by her euyl and wekyd leuyng whome he callyd ageyne by prayur and holy prechyng that visibly they myghte aftyrwarde vnderstonde and know how they had be takyn hem selfe to the deuyl and hys seruice the whiche he made of oure lordys infinite mercy by confession and satisfaccion and penanse doyng. ryght wele and parfet yn the feithe and yn good leuyng Neuertheles for what causys he had also sofryd before a lytyl while diuers peynis y leue oute here by cause y haue seyde a fore many feche lyke thyngys. And as we wente more ynward and farthir yn to yat ioyful place of paradyse. we had euermore a clere lyghte and felte a swetur fauer and hem that we founde and saw ther were more whyttur and gladder than were othyr that we saw before And wher to schulde y tarye here now to nowmbre tho persons and her merytys the whiche y saw ther. that y knew summe tyme before yn the worlde. and hem also that y knew not before For al that were ther yn that place. were ordende to be the cytsonnys of the hye and euerlastyng ierusalem and al had paste the stryfe and batel of this worlde and were victurs of deuyls. and so lightly they went tho-

rowe al peynys. as they were before les comyrd [combyrd ?] and holde by wrechyd leuyng and worldely vicys

**¶** how oure lordys passion was representyd and shewyd to the sowlyys that were in pa[ra]-Disc. **¶** Ca liiii



Owe sothely tho thyngys the whiche we fawe as we wente forthe farthir in to the same place nethyr tonge may telle ne mannys mynde maye worthely confyder. who ys he that may worthily tel in worde how in the myddys of tho bleffyd and holy fowlyys the holy croffe of crystys passyon was presented and schewed to hem. of the whiche infynite thousandys were there stondyng aboute hyt and as oure lorde had be present in hys body so they worschyppte and halowed hys bleffyd passyon Trewly there was feyne the meke redemer of mankynde oure swete lorde and sauyur ihesus criste as he had be done fresche on the croffe. For alle hys body was blake and bloody of scurgys and betyng and cruelly diffigurde by fowle spyttyng crownyd with scarpe thornys and smytte throw with grete naylys hys fyde was fore perfyd with a spere and fro his handys and fete ranne out blode redde as purpul and from his holy fyde came downe blode and water ful largely. and at this grete and wondyrful spectacul stode his holy moder oure bleffyd lady sent marye. not now in heynes and mornyng but right gladsum and ioyng and yat was in a ful feyre demenyng. and ther also stode with herre the swete dyscipil of criste seynt iohanne the bleffyd euangeliste and ho may now conceue in mynde how thoo holy fowlyys ranne thedir on euery fyde gladly and lightly to see and beholde yat bleffyd sight O what deuocyon was there of hem that behilde that gloriys vyfyon O what concurs was ther of worschipping and thanking our lorde ihesu criste and how meruelus was her ioyful gladnes Trewly

remembryng these thyngys in my selfe y wote not whedir forow or deuocyon or compassion or gratulacyon drawyn nowe myne onhappy foule dyuers weyes. For wondyr and meruel of tho thingis makyn me alyenate fro my selfe and sum what absent to my selfe. who ys he that wolde not ful gretly forow to see so feire and so solemly a body to be caste under so grete iniuriis and fore peynys. and who wolde not with al his harte haue compassion apon his mekenes so mouid and vexyd with tormentys and vpbraydys of seche wekyd folke. and what ioye and conforte may nowe here be thoughte. that by his passion and meke dethe helle ys foughtyn agenst. the deuyl ys ouercome and bounde his power and strenthe is destroyed and man that was losse ys restoryd ageyne to grace and takyn oute of the peynful prison of helle and ioynyd bleffydly to the holy angelys of heuyn. and ho wolde not meruel on the grete mercy and goodnes of our fauyur cryste ihesu the whiche now beyng immortalle wyl whytesaue yat hys passyon and dethe the whyche he soffryd onys in this worlde bodely for the redemption of mankynde be representyd and schewde in a vyfyon to the holy fowlys that byn in paradyse. that her deuocyon and loue schuld be the more accendyd and increfyd to hym. Many other thingis y saw and herde there the whyche y trowe at this tyme is bettur to leue hem out than to wryte hem. and than aftyward sodenly this bleffyd fyghte and holy vyfyon was takyn fro thens. Than al that grete multytude of foullys that came thedir to worshippe the holy crosse of crystys passion wente ageyne euerichon to her owne places with ioy and gladnes. Treuly y folowyde euermore my duke and lodifman sent Nicholas that went forthe farthir and farther repletyd now with grete ioye and gladnes amonge the ful brighte and light manfions of bleffid fowlys. and the whitnes of hem yat were here in this place and the swetnes of fauer and also the melodye of synging laudys to god wes inestymable and onethe to manny vnderstondyng credyble.

¶ Of the entryng of the gate of paradysse and of  
the ioy that apperyd withinforth. ¶ Ca 10



Forthermore nowe whenne we were paste all these placys and sightys aforeseyde and had gonne a good space more inward and euer grew to vs more and more ioye and feyernes of placys. also at the laste we sawe aferre a ful glorious walle of crystal hoys heythe no man might see. and lenthe no man might consider. and when we came thedyr y sawe within forthe a ful feyre brighte schynyng gate and stode opyn faue hit was signed and leide ouer with a crosse Treuly theder came flockemele the multytude of tho bleffyd fowlys that were next to hyt. and wolde cum in at that feyre gate The crosse was sette in the myddys of that gate. and nowe sche was lyfte vppe an hye and so gaue to hem that came thedyr an opyn and a fre entryng. and afterward sche was lettyn done ageyne. and so sparyd other oute that wuld haue commyn in But howe ioyful they were that wente in and how reuerently they taryde that stode withoute abydyng the lyftyng vppe of the crosse ageyne y can not telle by no wordys Sothely here sent Nycholas and y stode stille to geder. and the lyftyngys vppe of the crosse and the lettyngys done ageyne. wherby somme wente in and some taryde withoute. y behilde long tyme with grete wonder And at the laste sent Nycholas and y came thedyr to the same gate hande in hande. And when we came thedyr the crosse was lyfte vp. And so they that were there wente in. Sothely than my felowe sent Nycholas frely wente in and y foloude but sodenly and onauysyd the crosse of the gate came done apon owre handys and departyd me fro my felawe sente Nycholas and when y sawe thys. ful fore aferde y was Then seyde sent Nycholas to me. Be not aferde but haue only ful certen feythe in our lorde ihesu criste and doutheles thou schalt come yn And astyr thys my hope and truste came ageyne and the crosse was lyfte vppe and so y cam in. but what brightnes and clerenes of light was

there with in forthe al aboutys no man aike ne iecne of me for y can not only telle hit by worde but also y can not remembre hit in mynde That gloryous schyning light was brighte and smothe and so raueshte a man that behylde hit that hit bare a man aboue hym selfe by the grete brightnes of lyghte yn so mekyl that what fumeuer y sawe before hit was as no thing me thought in comparyson of hit That bryghtnesse thawghe hyt were inestymable. Neuerthelesse hyt dullyd not a manns fyghte. hyt rathyr scharpyd hyt. Sothly hyt schynyd ful meruelusly. but more ynestymably hyt delytyd a man that behylde hyt. and wondirfully cowpulde a manns fyghte to se hit. And wyth ynforthe no thyng y myght see. but lighte and the walle of crystalle throw the whyche we came yn And also fro the gronde vppe to toppe of that walle were grycis ordende and dysposyd feyre and meruelusly. by the whyche the ioyful company that was cum yn at the forseyde gate gladly ascendyd vppe Ther was no labur. ther was no difficulte ther was no taryng yn her ascendyng. and the hier they wente the gladder they were. Sothely y stode benethe on the grunde. and longe tyme y saw and behylde how they that came yn at the gate ascendyd vppe by the same grycis And at the laste as y lokyd vppe hier y saw yn a trone of ioy sittyng owre bleffyd lord and sauyur ihesus criste yn lykenes of man. and abowte hym as hyt femyd to me were a fyue hondred fowlys. the whyche late had ftyed vppe to that glorius trone. and so they came to owre lorde and worfchpte hym and thankyde hym. for hys grete mercy and grace schewyd and done to hem And some were feyne on the vppur partys of the walle as they had walkyd hethyr and dedyr Trewly y knew for certen that thys place. were y saw owre lorde sittyng yn a trone. was not the hie heuyn of heuyns where the bleffid spiritis of angels and the holy fowlys of ryghtwys men ioyin yn the feyghte of god feyng hym yn hys mageste as he ys. where also innumerable thowfondis of holy spiritys and angels ferue hym and assiste hym But than fro thens wythowten any hardnes or taryng. they ascende vppe to the hey

heuin the whyche ys bleffyd of the fyghte of the euerlastyng godhed where al only the holy angels and the fowlys of ryghtwes men that byn of angels perfeccion feyn the ynuisibly and inmortalle kyng of al worldys face to face. the whyche hathe only immortalite. and dwellyth yn lyghte. that ys inacceffyble. for no man may cumme to hyt. the whyche no mortalle man feithe nethyr may see Sothely he ys feyne only of holy spiritys that byn pure and clene. the whyche be not greuyd by no corrupcion of body nethir of fowle And yn thys vision that y saw. so mekylle y conceuyd yn my fowle of ioy and gladnes that wat sum euer may be feyde of hyt by manns mowthe. ful lytyl hyt ys. and onufficiant to expresse the ioy of myne herte. that y had there.

**¶ How the monke came owte ageyne throw the same gate of paradyse.** **¶ Ca lvi**



Herfore when y had feyn al these fyghtys aboue feyde and many othyr innumerable my lorde sent Nycholas that hylde me by the hande feyde schortly thys to me Loo sonne he feyde now a party aftyr they petition and grete desir thow haste feyne and beholde. the state of the worlde yat ys to cumme as hyt myghte be to possibill Also the perels of hem that offendyn and erryn the peynys of synners. the reste also of hem yat haue done her purgacion. the desyrys of hem that be goyng to heuynward. and the ioys of hem. that now byn cumme to the courte of heuyn and also the ioy of crystis reynynge And now thow muste go ageyne to they selfe and to thyne. and to the worldys feyghtyng Treuly thow schalt haue and perceue the ioys that thow haste feyne and mekyl more. yeffe thow contynew and perfeuer in the drede of god. And when he had feyde thys to me he browghte me forthe throwe the same gate that we came yn. wherfor ful heuy and fory was y and more than a man may suppose. for wele y knew that y must turne ageyne. fro that heuynly blyffe to thys worldys wrechidnes. And gretely he exhortyd me.

how y schulde dyspose me. to abyde the day of my callinge oute of my body yn clenness of herte and of body. and mekenes of spirite wyth dylygent kepyng of my religyon. Dylygently he feyde to me. kepe the commaundementys of god. and dyspose they leuyng aftyr the example of ryghtwes men. And truely so hyt schal be. that aftyr the terme of they bodely leuyng thow schal be admyttyd bleffydly. to her feleschippe euerlastyngly.

**¶ Of the swete pele and melodye of bellys that he herde in paradyse and also how he came to hym self ageyne.** **¶ Ca. lviij**

**A**Nd whyle the holy confessor sent nycholas thys wyse spake yet with me sodenly y harde ther a solenne pele and a rynggyng of a meruelus swetenes. and as al the bellys yn the worlde or what sumeuver ys of fownyng had be rongyn to gedyr at onys Trewly yn thys pele and rynging brake owte also a meruelus swetenes. and a variant medelyng of melody fownyd wyth alle And y wote not whether the gretnes of melody. or the swetnes of fownnyng of bellys was more to be wondirde And to so grete a noyse y toke good hede and ful gretly my mynde was suspendyd to here hyt Sothly anone as that gret and meruelus fownnyng and noyse was cessyd sodenly y saw my selfe departyd fro the swete feleschippe of my duke and leder sent Nicholas Than was y returnyd to my selfe ageyne. and anone y hard the voycis of my brethyrne. that stode abowte our bedde also my bodely strenthe cam ageyn to me a lytyl and a litil and myn yes opinde to the vse of feyng as ye sawe ryghte wele. Also my seknes and febulnes by the whiche y was longe tyme ful fore diffesid was vtwardly excludyd and gonne fro me. and fate vppe before yow so stronge and myghty as y was afore by hyt foroful and heuy And y wende that y had be then yn the chirche afore the auter. where y worschipte fyrste the crosse And as tochyng the taryng that y made yn thys vyfyon y had wende hyt had be noone. but al only



the space of on matens while. and now as y vnderstonde. y was terdye .ij. days and more And now as compeudeusly as y kowde y haue here tolde yow of al tho thingys the whiche y sawe and were schewyd to me yn body or yn spirite at the instauns and commandement of youre holynes and deuoute charyte. And nowe y beseche you mekely and that with fore weping that ye will with saue [vouchsafe] to praye to god for me an vnhappy wrecche yat y may scape the grete and greuys peynys of synners the whyche y sawe. and cum to the ioyes of the holy sowlis that y knewe. and alsoo to see euerlastyngly the glorious face of oure bleffyde lorde and sauour ihesu criste and oure bleffyde lady sent marye.

¶ A proffe that thys reuelacyon ys of god and moste nedys be trew for the grete myraclys that our lord shewyd on this same monke that same tyme. ¶ Ca lviij



¶ Ony instruccyons and opyn examples byn here at the begynnyng of thys narracyon that euydentely prouyn thys vyfyon. not to be of manns conceyte but vtwardely of the wylle of god the whiche wolde haue hyt schewed to crystyn pepul Neuerthelesse yefe there be so grete infydelyte or infyrmyte of any persons that can not beleue to these thyngys aforseyde lete hem confyder the grete sekeneffe and febulnes of hym that sawe hyt. so sodenly and so sone helyd in to a very wytnes and trowthe of this vyfyon that he sawe. Also let hem meruelle the grete noyse that was abowte hym. and also howe that he was prycked in hys fete with nyldys by the whyche he kowde not in any wyse be mouyd. Forthermore let hem take hede to hys yes that were so ferre fallyn done in to hys hede and was not seyne onethe to brethespace of .ij. days. and also aftyr a ful longe space of howris onethe laste myghte be perfeuyd yn hym a ful smalle meuyng as a thynne drede yn hys vytalle veynys Also let hem confyder hys contynualle wepyng and terys the whyche he had aftyrward many days. And befyde all thes thyngys

we knowe also a nothyr certen thyng that was a ful feyre myracle and a very tokyn of godys curacyon schewyd on hym the same tyme. and as mekyl to be merueld. Sothely he had al moſte the ſpace of an hole yere yn hys lyfte legge a grete fore and a ful byttur as hyt were a canker large and brode wherby he was peynynd intollerably. And he was wonte to fey. that he had ſeche a ſorow and peyne therof. as he had bore an hoothe plate of yrne bownde faſte to hys legge. And ther was no emplaſtur no oyntmente nethyr any othyr medicyn how be hit that he had mekyl of lechis leyde to hyt. yat myghte yeſe hym of hys peyne or drawe the wownde to gedyr. Trewly yn the ſpace of hys raueſh- yng. he was ſo fully helyd that he hym ſelfe meruelyd wyth vs to fele and ſee the peyne and ache wyth the wownde ſo clene agonne. that no tokyn of hyt. ne ſigne of rednes or of whythnes remaynyd aboute the meruelus curacion of god. Al only thys differens had hys legge that was fore. fro todyr legge that where the forſeyde fore was that place was bare and had none here.



**H**Ul delectable hyt was to hym as he feyde fro that tyme forthe. as ofte as he harde any ſolenne pele of ryngyng of bellys. by cauſe hyt wolde then cum to hys mynde ageyne. the ful ſwete pele and melody the whyche he herde. when he was amonge the bleſſyd fowlys yn paradyſe. Sothely aſtyr that he was cum to hym ſelfe and hys brethirne had tolde hym. that now ys the holy tyme of yeſtyr. than fyrſte he beleuyd. when he harde hem ryngge ſolenly to complen. for then he knew certenly. that the pele and melodye. that he herde yn paradyſe. wyth ſo grete ioy and gladnes. betokynde the ſame ſolennyte of yeſtir yn the whyche owre bleſſyd lorde and ſauyur ihelus criſte roſe vppe viſibly and bodely fro dethe on to lyfe. to home wyth the fadyr and the holy gooſte be now and euer- more euerlaſtyng ioye and blyſſe Amen.

# English Reprints.

JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND, I OF ENGLAND.

The Essayes of a Prentise, in  
the Divine Art of Poesie.

Edinburgh. 1585.

A Counterblaste to Tobacco.

London. 1604.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

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## CONTENTS.

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INTRODUCTION . . . . .	3
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	6
<i>THE ESSAYES OF A PRENTISE, IN THE DIVINE ARTE OF POESIE.</i>	
(1.) The Catalogue of the works herein contained . . . . .	8
(2.) Recommendatory Sonnets . . . . .	9-12
(3.) ORIGINAL POEMS by JAMES VI.	
Twelve Sonnets. <i>Invocations to the Gods</i> . . . . .	13-18
A Tragedy— <i>Phoenix</i> . . . . .	40-50, 79-80
Two Sonnets—(1.) <i>To the Reader</i> . (2.) <i>Deciphering the perfect Poet</i> . . . . .	56
A short Poem— <i>Of Time</i> . . . . .	73
A Sonnet . . . . .	78
(4.) TRANSLATIONS by JAMES VI.	
<i>The Uranie</i> from DU BARTAS . . . . .	73-39
Out of the Poet <i>Lucan</i> . . . . .	51-52
<i>The CIII Psalm</i> , out of <i>Tremellius</i> . . . . .	70-72
(5.) A short Treatise, containing some Rules and Cautels to be observed and eschewed in Scottish Poesy . . . . .	53-69
(6.) A Table of some obscure words with their significations . . . . .	75-77
ON THE INTRODUCTION AND EARLY USE OF TOBACCO IN ENGLAND . . . . .	
81-94, 113-120	
<i>A COUNTERBLAST TO TOBACCO.</i>	
(1.) To the Reader . . . . .	96-98
(2.) A COUNTERBLAST TO TOBACCO . . . . .	99-112



Literature is a Republic that admits of no authority but that of Learning, Genius, and Persuasion. The Writer—whether King, Peer, or Commoner—is judged with one judgment. Curiosity, Reverence, or Loyalty may procure for a Work an attentive reception and some present applause: but its perpetuation, its place in the Literature of the country, will depend upon either its intrinsic merits, or on its illustrative power in respect to the age in which it was written.

On these latter grounds, the Royal productions here reprinted have been admitted into the Series.

*The Reulis and Cautelis in Scottis Poesie* bring James VI. within the succession of our early Poetical Critics; whose writings—not very numerous, but now excessively scarce—are of great value in the study of English Poetry. For—not to speak of their often preserving snatches of poems now utterly lost—they show us the theories of versification, the canons of Poetic taste and style, prevailing in our country, immediately before the advent of Spenser, Shakespeare, and their fertile contemporaries. These writings were reprinted by Mr. Haslewood in his *Ancient Critical Essays*, 2 vols. 4to., 1811-16: a Reprint, of which only 300 copies were printed, (and a portion of that number destroyed by fire), which is now scarce; and which, when met with, usually costs two or three pounds. The original texts being so rare; Mr. Haslewood's Reprint was, until lately, the only means whereby most of us could obtain a knowledge of this important department of our National literature.

In pursuance, therefore, of what seemed an imperative duty: these Criticisms in Poesy are being gradually reproduced in this Series. To the four now published—GASCOIGNE, SIDNEY, JAMES VI., and PUTTENHAM: we purpose adding in 1870, W. WEBBE'S *Discourse* (of which only two copies remain): and the five productions, forming two-thirds of Mr. Haslewood's Reprint—including also with them four others of

a differing character—will be obtainable for 5s. 6d., and be on *unlimited* sale. It is to be hoped that this advantageous facility of knowledge, may allure many to a more thorough delight in Elizabethan poetry: and that by a combined study of these Principles of Poesy with the Poems themselves, many may attain to a more subtle appreciation, a more sensitive feeling of that Song—which, in its aggregate and bulk, is the sweetest and most enchanting in our History.

How much the *Counterblaste* represents another class of our Literature, and a good deal of our former manners: the notices given of the Tobacco controversy will show. Thus both works stand on their own merits; their own reputation and that of their Royal Author but predisposing them to a courteous reception.

What he says in the Preface to his other poetical work, *Exercises at vacant heures*, must not be forgotten in considering the *Essays*, or Attempts of an Apprentice:

And in case thou finde aswel in this work, as in my LEPANTO following, many incorrect errors, both in the dytement and orthography, I must pray thee to accept this my reasonable excuse, which is this. Thou considers, I doubt not, that vpon the one part, I composed these things in my verie young and tender yeares: wherein nature, (except shee were a monster) can admit of no perfection. And nowe on the other parte, being of riper yeares, my burden is so great and continuall, without anie intermission, that when my ingyne and age could, my affaires and fasherie would not permit mee, to remark the wrong orthography committed by the copiers of my vnlegible and ragged hand, far les to amend my proper errors: Yea scarslie but at stollen moments, haue I the leasure to blenk vpon any paper, and yet not that, with free and vnvexed spirit. Alwaies, rough and vnpolished as they are, I offer them vnto thee. . . .

Nothing need here be said of the king's Sonnets and Poems: they appraise themselves. Of the rest, the following may be noted:—

1. MR. GILLIES, writing, in 1812, his *Pref. Mem.*, see No. 2 on p. 6, states—"Of the commendatory versifiers T[homas H[udson] was the author of a translation of Du Bartas's *History of Judith*, printed at Edinburgh by Thomas Vautrollier, and republished in the works of Du Bartas by Joshua Sylvester." R. H[udson], probably a brother of the preceding, was also a writer of verses. See an address to him, by Montgomery, in the second volume of Sibbald's *Chronicle*. M. W. F. is obviously Master William Fowler, author of *The Triumphs of Petrarke* and *The Tarantula of Love*, extant in MS. in the College Library of Edinburgh, of which specimens have been published by Dr. Leyden.

2. GILLAUME DE SALLUSTE, Seigneur DU BARTAS (b. 1544—d. 1590) exercised a considerable influence over some of the minor English poets of his time. Something like mutual laudation passed between the young Scotch king and the French poet. What James says of Du Bartas may be seen at pp. 20-21. Not long after these *Essays*, the king wrote a poem on the battle of Lepanto: in a French translation of which, by Du Bartas, *La Lèpanthe*, is the following *Preface from the Translator to the Author*, in which the Frenchman replaces the Scot in full:—

IAQUES, si tu marchois d'un pied mortee ça bas,  
 Hardy t'entreprendroy de l'alloner ses pas :  
 Pestendroy tous mes nerfs, et ma course sacrée  
 Loing, loing lairroit à dos les aigles de Borée.  
 Mais puis qu aigle nouveau tu te guindes és cieux,  
 Collé bas, ie te suy seulement de mes yeux :  
 Mais plustost du desir : ou, si ie me remuë  
 Ombre ie vole eu terre, et toy dedans la nuë.

He ! fusse ie vrayment, ô Phœnix Escossois,  
 Ou l'ombre de ton corps, ou l'Echo de ta voix.  
 Si ie n'auoy l'azur, l'or, et l'argent encore  
 Dont ton plumage astré brillamment s'honore,  
 Au moins t'aurey ta forme : et si mon rude vers  
 N'exprimoit la douceur de tant d'accords diuers,  
 Il retiendroyt quelque air de tes voix plus qu' humaines,  
 Mais, Pies, taisez vous pous ouyr les Camènes.

3. EMANUEL TREMILLIUS, was a Jew, born at Ferrara about 1510. He became first a Catholic, then a Protestant ; was a celebrated Hebrew scholar, and died at Sedan on 9th October 1580. His Latin version of the Scriptures—originally brought out at Frankfort—was first printed in London in 1580, and again in 1581. 'Out of Tremillius' therefore simply means :—translated from out of the Latin version of the Psalms, edited by Tremillius.

In the nineteen years intervening between the publication of the works here presented to the reader, James published many works at Edinburgh. As among others, his *Majestys Poetical Exercises at Vacant houres*, in 1591, consisting of his translation *The Furies* of Du Bartas, of his own *Lepanto*, and of Du Bartas' rendering, *La Lepanthe*. His *Dæmonologie* in 1599. The anonymous and secret first edition—limited to seven copies—of *Basilikon Doron* in 1599. When he came to the English crown, most of the prose works were reprinted in London.

Almost his first new literary production as King of Great Britain and Ireland was *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*. So far as limited time and space have permitted, we have, further on, surrounded it with somewhat of the antecedent and subsequent literature of the subject. Lovers of the Pipe sometimes endeavour to stultify James' Invective : by sketching, on an enlarged scale, the personal habits, the notions and conceits of the so-called British Solomon. Here again the Invective must stand on its own merits. What it is in itself, we can estimate. The measure of its influence—especially when its Royal authorship became generally known—may not now be attainable. As a matter of history ; it failed in its purpose. Tobacco smoking still reigneth, and will yet reign.

## The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1. 1585. Edinburgh. *Editio princeps*: see title on opposite page.  
1 vol. 4to.

II. *With other works.*

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

2. 1814. Edinburgh. *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie*; with a prefatory Memoir by R. P. GILLIES, F.S.A.E.  
1 vol. 8vo.

II. *With other works.*

3. 10 Dec. 1869. Lond. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*; see title at p. 1.

## A Counterblaste to Tobacco.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1. 1604. London. *Editio princeps*: see title at p. 95. Anonymously published, and now very scarce. The present edition is reprinted from a copy in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.

II. *With other works.*

2. 1616. London. The [Prose] Workes of James I.. Collected and edited by JAMES MONTAGU, Bp. of WINCHESTER. The *Counterblaste* is at pp. 211-212.
3. 1619. London. The same translated into Latin, by the same Bishop. 1 vol. fol. The *Counterblaste* is translated at pp. 189-207. On p. 189, it has the title of *Misocapnus siue De Abusu Tobacci Lusius Regius*: which is thus varied in repetition on p. 200, *Misocapnus, seu lusius Regius de abusu Tobacci*.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

None.

II. *With other works.*

4. 1672. London. Two Broad-Sides against Tobacco: The First given by King JAMES of famous memory, His *Counterblaste to Tobacco*. The Second transcribed out of that learned Physician Dr. EVERARD MAYNWARINGE, His *Treatise of the Scurvy*. . . . Concluding with Two *Poems* against Tobacco [i.e. an extract of Sylvester's *Tobacco battered*; see p. 116] and *Coffee*. Collected and published, as very proper for this Age, by J. H. . . . Licensed according to Order. June 6, 1672.

Or with a slightly different title-page, beginning thus—

King James His *Counterblaste to Tobacco*. To which is added a Learned Discourse written by Dr. EVERARD MAYNWARINGE, Proving that Tobacco is a procuring Cause of the Scurvy. . . .

5. 1689. Another Latin Edition of James' prose works. in which 1 vol. fol. *Misocapnus* is included.
6. 10 Dec. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at p. 1.



THE ESSAYES OF  
A PRENTISE, IN THE  
DIVINE ART OF  
POESIE.



Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas  
Vautroullier.

1585.

CVM PRIVILEGIO  
REGALI.

THE CATALOGVE OF THE  
workis heirin conteined.

**T***He twvelf Sonnets of Inuocations to the Goddis.  
The Vranie or heauenly Muse translated.*

*The Metaphoricall Inuentioun of a Tragedie, callit  
Phœnix.*

*A Paraphrastlicall translatioun out of the Poëte Lucane.*

*A treatise of the airt of Scottis Poësie.*

*The CIIII. Pfsalme of Dauid, translated out of  
Tremellius.*

*A Poeme of Tyme.*

## SONNET.

**I**F *Martiall* deeds, and practise of the pen  
 Haue wonne to auncient *Grece* a worthie fame :  
 If Battels bold, and Bookes of learned men  
 Haue magnified the mightie *Romain* name :  
 Then place this Prince, who well deserues the same :  
 Since he is one of *Mars* and *Pallas* race :  
 For both the *Godds* in him haue sett in frame  
 Their vertewes both, which both, he doth embrace.  
*O Macedon*, adorne with heauenly grace,  
*O Romain* stout, decorde with learned skill,  
 The *Monarks* all to thee shall quite their place :  
 Thy endles fame shall all the world fulfill.  
 And after thee, none worthier shalbe seene,  
 To sway the *Svword*, and gaine the *Laurell* greene.

T. H.

## SONNET.

**T**HE glorious *Grekis* in stately style do blaise [olde:  
 The lawde, the conqurour gaue their *Homer*  
 The verses *Cæsar* song in *Maroes* praise,  
 The *Romanis* in remembrance depe haue rolde.  
 Ye *Thespian Nymphes*, that suppe the *Nectar* colde,  
 That from *Parnassis* forked topp doth fall,  
 What *Alexander* or *Augustus* bolde,  
 May sound his fame, whose vertewes pass them all ?  
*O Phæbus*, for thy help, heir might I call,  
 And on *Minerue*, and *Maias* learned sonne :  
 But since I know, none was, none is, nor shall,  
 Can rightly ring the fame that he hath wonne,  
 Then stay your trauels, lay your pennis adowne,  
 For *Cæsars* works, shall iustly *Cæsar* crowne.

R. H.

## SONNET.

**T**He mightie Father of the *Muses* nyne  
 Who mounted thame vpon *Parnassus* hill,  
 Where *Phæbus* faire amidd these *Sisters* syne  
 With learned tounge satt teaching euer still,  
 Of late yon God declared his woundrous will,  
 That *Vranie* should teach this Prince most rare :  
 Syne she informed her scholler with such skill,  
 None could with him in Poesie compaire.  
 Lo, heir the fructis, *Nymphe*, of thy foster faire,  
 Lo heir (ô noble *Ioue*) thy will is done,  
 Her charge compleit, as deid doth now declaire.  
 This work will witnesse, she obeyed the sone.  
 O *Phæbus* then reioyce with glauncing glore,  
 Since that a King doth all thy court decore.

M. VV.

## SONNET.

**W**hen as my minde exemed was from caire,  
 Among the *Nymphis* my self I did repose :  
 Where I gaue eare to one, who did prepaire  
 Her sugred voice this sequell to disclose.  
 Conveine your selfs (ô sisters) doe not lose  
 This passing tyme which hasteth fast away :  
 And yow who wrytes in stately verse and prose,  
 This glorious Kings immortall gloire display.  
 Tell how he doeth in tender yearis essay  
 About his age with skill our arts to blaise.  
 Tell how he doeth with gratitude repay  
 The crowne he wan for his deserued praise.  
 Tell how of *Ioue*, of *Mars*, but more of *God*  
 The gloire and grace he hath proclaimed abroad.

M. W. F.

## SONNET.

**G**AN goldin *Titan* shyning bright at morne  
 For light of *Torchis*, cast ane greater shaw?  
 Can *Thunder* reard the heicher for a horne?  
 Craks *Cannons* louder, thocht ane *Cok* fould craw?  
 Can our weake breath help *Boreas* for to blaw?  
 Can *Candill* lowe giue fyre a greater heit?  
 Can quhytest *Svans* more quhyter mak the *Snavv*?  
 Can *Virgins* teares augment the *VVinters* weit?  
 Helps pyping *Pan Apollos* Musique sweit?  
 Can *Fountainis* small the *Ocean sea* increffe?  
 No, they augment the greater nocht a quheit:  
 Bot they them selues appears to grow the lesse.  
 So (worthy Prince) thy works fall mak the knawin.  
 Ours helps not thyne: we steynzie bot our awin.

A. M.

*De huius Libri Auctore, Herculis*  
 Rolloci coniectura.

**Q***uisquis es, entheus hic exit quo Auctore libellus,*  
*(Nam liber Auctorem conticet ipse suum)*  
*Dum quonam ingenio meditor, genioque subactus,*  
*Maiora humanis viribus ista canas:*  
*Teque adeo qui sis expendo: aut Diuus es, inquam,*  
*Aut a Diuum aliquis forte secundus homo.*  
*Nil sed habet simile aut Diuis, aut terra secundum:*  
*Quanquam illis Reges proximus ornat honos.*  
*Aut opus hoc igitur humano femine nati*  
*Nullius, aut hoc sic Regis oportet opus.*

## ACROSTICHON.

I *N*signe Auctoris vetuit præfigere nomen  
 A *u*cltoris cuncta pectus vacuum ambitione.  
 C *u*ius præclaras laudes, heroica facta,  
 O *m*nigenasque animi dotes, et pectora verè  
 B *e*lligera, exornat cælestis gratia Musæ.  
 V *e*ra ista omnino est virtus, virtuteque maior  
 S *u*blimis regnat generoso in pectore Christus.  
 S *c*ottia fortunata nimis bona si tua noffes  
 EX *i*mij vatis, plectrum qui pollice docto  
 T *e*mperat, et Musas regalem inducit in aulam :  
 V *i*clurus post fata diu : Nam fama superstes  
 S *e*mper erit, semper florebit gloria vatis.

Pa. Ad. Ep. Sanct.

EIVSDEM AD LECTOREM  
EPIGRAMMA.

**S**I quæras quis sit tam compti carminis auctor,  
 Auctorem audebis Musa negare tuum ?  
 Ille quidem vetuit, cui te parere necesse est :  
 Quis tantum in Diuas obtinet imperium ?  
 Cui parent Musæ, Phæbus quo vate superbit,  
 Et capiti demit laurea ferta suo.  
 Cui lauri, et sceptri primi debentur honores,  
 Cui multa cingit laude tyara caput.  
 Quo duce spes certa est diuifis orbe Britannis,  
 Haud diuifa iterum regna futura duo.  
 Progenies Regum, Regnorumque unicus hæres,  
 Scilicet obscurus delituisse potest !

3

ANE QVADRAIN OF  
ALEXANDRIN VERSE.

**I**Mmortall Gods, sen I with pen and Poets airt [small,  
So willingly hes servde you, though my skill be  
I pray then euerie one of you to help his pairt,  
In graunting this my fute, which after follow shall.


SONNET. 1.

**F**IRST *Ioue*, as greatest God aboue the rest,  
Graunt thou to me a pairt of my desyre :  
That when in verse of thee I write my best,  
This onely thing I earnestly requyre,  
That thou my veine Poetique so inspyre,  
As they may furlie think, all that it reid,  
When I descryue thy might and thundring fyre,  
That they do see thy self in verie deid  
From heauen thy greatest *Thunders* for to leid,  
And syne upon the *Gyants* heads to fall :  
Or cumming to thy *Semele* with speid  
In *Thunders* least, at her request and call :  
Or throwing *Phaethon* downe from heauen to eard.  
With threatning thunders, making monstrous reard.

SONNET. 2.


**A***Pollo* nixt, assist me in a parte,  
Sen vnto *Ioue* thou secound art in might,  
That when I do descryue thy shyning Carte,  
The Readers may este me it in their fight.  
And graunt me als, thou worlds ô onely light,  
That when I lyke for subiect to deuyse  
To wryte, how as before thy countenance bright  
The yeares do stand, with seasons dowble twyse.  
That so I may descryue the verie guyse  
Thus by thy help, of yeares wherein we liue :  
As Readers syne may say, heir surely lyes,  
Of seasons fowre, the glasse and picture viue.  
Grant als, that so I may my verses warpe,  
As thou may play them syne vpon thy Harpe.

## SONNET. 3.


 AND first, ô *Phœbus*, when I do descriue [flowris,  
 The *Springtyme* sproutar of the herbes and  
 Whome with in rank none of the foure do striue,  
 But nearest thee do stande all tymes and howris :  
 Graunt Readers may esteeme, they sie the showris,  
 Whose balmie dropps so softlie dois distell,  
 Which watrie cloudds in mesure fuche downe powris,  
 As makis the herbis, and verie earth to smell  
 With fauours sweit, fra tyme that onis thy fell  
 The vapouris softlie fowkis with smyling cheare,  
 VVhilks syne in cloudds are keiped clofs and well,  
 VVhill vehement *Winter* come in tyme of yeare.

Graunt, when I lyke the *Springtyme* to displaye.  
 That Readers think they sie the Spring alwaye.

## SONNET. 4.


 AND graunt that I may so viuely put in verse  
 The *Sommer*, when I lyke theirow to treat :  
 As when in writ I do theirow reherse,  
 Let Readers think they fele the burning heat,  
 And graithly see the earth, for lacke of weit,  
 With withering drouth and Sunne so gaigged all,  
 As for the grasse on feild, the dust in streit  
 Doth ryse and flee aloft, long or it fall.  
 Yea, let them think, they heare the song and call,  
 Which *Floras* wingde musicians makis to sound.  
 And that to taste, and smell, beleue they shall  
 Delicious fruitis, whilks in that tyme abound.

And shortly, all their senses so bereaued,  
 As eyes and earis, and all may be deceaued.



## SONNET. 5.

**W**HEN I lyke my pen for to imploy  
 Of fertile *Harvest* in the description trew :  
 Let Readers think, they instantly conuoy  
 The busie shearers for to reap their dew,  
 By cutting rypest cornes with hookes anew :  
 Which cornes their heauy heads did downward bow,  
 Els seking earth againe, from whence they grew,  
 And vnto *Ceres* do their seruice vow.  
 Let Readers also surely think and trow,  
 They see the painfull *Vignerons* pull the grapes :  
 First tramping them, and after pressing now  
 The grenest clusters gathered into heapes.  
 Let then the *Harvest* so viue to them appeare,  
 As if they saw both cornes and clusters neare.

## SONNET. 6.

**B**UT let them think, in verie deid they feill,  
 When as I do the *VVinters* stormes vnfolde,  
 The bitter frosts, which waters dois congeill  
 In *VVinter* season, by a pearfing colde.  
 And that they heare the whiddering *Boreas* bolde,  
 With hiddeous hurling, rolling Rocks from hie.  
 Or let them think, they see god *Saturne* olde,  
 Whose hoarie haire owercouering earth, maks flie  
 The lytle birds in flocks, fra tyme they see  
 The earth and all with stormes of snow owerclod :  
 Yea let them think, they heare the birds that die,  
 Make piteous mone, that *Saturnes* hairis are spred.  
*Apollo*, graunt thir foirsaid fuitis of myne,  
 All fyue I say, that thou may crowne me fyne.

## SONNET. 7.

**A**ND when I do descriue the *Oceans* force,  
 Graunt syne, ô *Neptune*, god of seas profound,  
 That readars think on leebord, and on dworce,  
 And how the Seas owerflowed this massiue round :  
 Yea, let them think, they heare a stormy sound,  
 Which threatnis wind, and darknes come at hand :  
 And water in their shippis syne to abound,  
 By weltring waues, lyke hiest towres on land.  
 Then let them thinke their shipp now low on sand,  
 Now climmes and skippes to top of rageing seas,  
 Now downe to hell, when shippmen may not stand,  
 But lifts their hands to pray thee for some eas.  
 Syne let them think thy *Trident* doth it calme,  
 Which maks it cleare and smothe lyke glas or alme.

## SONNET. 8.

**A**ND graunt the lyke when as the swimming fort  
 Of all thy subiects skaled I list declare :  
 As *Triton* monster with a manly port,  
 Who drownd the *Troyan* trumpetour most raire :  
 As *Marmaidis* wyfe, who wepis in wether faire :  
 And marvelous *Monkis*, I meane *Monkis* of the see.  
 Bot what of monsters, when I looke and staire  
 On wouderous heapes of subiectis seruing the ?  
 As whailes so huge, and *Sea eylis* rare, that be  
 Myle longs, in crawling cruikis of sixtie pace :  
 And *Daulphins*, *Seahorse*, *Selchs* with oxin ee,  
 And *Merfwynis*, *Pertrikis* als of fishes race.  
 In short, no fowle doth flie, nor beast doth go,  
 But thow hast fishes lyke to them and mo.

## SONNET. 9.

**D**reidfull *Pluto*, brother thrid to *Ioue*,  
 With *Proserpin*, thy wife, the quene of hell  
 My sute to yow is, when I like to loauē  
 The ioyes that do in *Elise* field excell:  
 Or when I like great *Tragedies* to tell:  
 Or flyte, or murne my *fate*: or wryte with feare  
 The plagues ye do send furth with *Diræ* fell.  
 Let Readers think, that both they see and heare  
*Alecto*, threatning *Turnus* sifter deare:  
 And heare *Celænos* wings, with *Harpyes* all:  
 And see dog *Cerberus* rage with hiddeous beare,  
 And all that did *AEneas* once befall.

When as he past throw all those dongeons dim,  
 The foresaid feilds syne visted by him.

## SONNET. 10.

**F**urious *Mars*, thow warlyke souldiour bold,  
 And hardy *Pallas*, goddeſs stout and graue:  
 Let Reidars think, when combats manyfold  
 I do descriue, they see two champions braue,  
 With armies huge approching to resauē  
 Thy will, with cloudds of dust into the air.  
 Syne Phifers, Drummes, and Trumpets cleir do craue  
 The pelmell chok with larum loude alwhair,  
 Then nothing hard but gunnis, and ratling fair  
 Of speares, and clincking fwords with glaunce so cleir,  
 As if they foght in skeyes, then wrangles thair  
 Men killd, vnkilld, whill *Parcas* breath reiteir.

There lyes the venquisht wailing fore his chaunce:  
 There lyes the victor, rewing els the daunce.

## SONNET. 11.

**A**Nd at your handis I earnestly do craue,  
 O facound *Mercure*, with the *Muses* nyne,  
 That for conducting guyde I may you haue,  
 Aswell vnto my pen, as my Ingyne.  
 Let Readers think, thy eloquence deuyned  
 O *Mercure*, in my Poems doth appeare:  
 And that *Parnassis* flowing fountaine fyne  
 Into my works doth shyne lyke cristall cleare.  
 O *Muses*, let them think that they do heare  
 Your voyces all into my verse refound.  
 And that your vertewis singuler and feir  
 May wholly all in them be also found.  
 Of all that may the perfyte Poems make,  
 I pray you let my verses haue no lake.

## SONNET. 12.

**S**Hort, you all forenamed gods I pray  
 For to concur with one accord and will,  
 That all my works may perfyte be alway:  
 Which if ye doe, then sweare I for to fill  
 My works immortall with your praises still:  
 I shall your names eternall euer sing,  
 I shall tread downe the grasse on *Parnass* hill  
 By making with your names the world to ring:  
 I shall your names from all obliuion bring.  
 I lofty *Virgill* shall to life restoir,  
 My subiects all shalbe of heauenly thing,  
 How to delate the gods immortals gloir.  
 Essay me once, and if ye find me swerue,  
 Then thinke, I do not graces such deserue.

FINIS.



*T H E V R A N I E*

tranflated.





\* *To the fauorable*  
Reader

**H**Auing oft reuolued, and red ouer (fauorable Reader) the booke and Poems of the deuine and Illuster Poëte, *Salust du Bartas*, I was moued by the oft reading and perusing of them, with a restles and lofty desire, to preas to attaine to the like vertue. But sen (alas) God, by nature hathe refused me the like lofty and quick ingyne, and that my dull *Muse*, age, and Fortune, had refused me the lyke skill and learning, I was constrained to haue refuge to the secound, which was, to doe what lay in me, to set forth his praise, sen I could not merite the lyke my self. Which I thought, I could not do so well, as by publishing some worke of his, to this yle of *Brittain* (swarming full of quick ingynes,) aswell as they ar made manifest already to France. But knowing my self to vnskillfull and grosse, to translate any of his heauenly and learned works, I almost left it of, and was ashamed of that opinion also. Whill at the last, preferring foolehardines and a good intention, to an vtter dispaire and sleuth, I resolued vnaduyfedly to assay the translating in my language of the easiest and shortest of all his difficile, and prolixed Poems: to wit, the *Vranie* or heauenlye *Muse*, which, albeit it be not well translated, yet hope I, ye will excuse me (fauorable Reader) sen I neither ordained it, nor auowes it for a iust translation: but onely set it forth, to the end, that, albeit the Prouerb saith, that foolehardines proceeds of ignoraunce, yet some quick sprited man of this yle, borne vnder the same, or as

happie a Planet, as *Du Bartas* was, might by the reading of it, bee moued to translate it well, and best, where I haue bothe euill, and worst broyled it.

For that cause, I haue put in, the French on the one side of the leif, and my blocking on the other: noight thereby to giue prooffe of my iust translating, but by the contrair, to let appeare more plainly to the foresaid reader, wherin I haue erred, to the effect, that with lesse difficulty he may escape those snares wherin I haue fallen. I must also desire you to bear with it, albeit it be replete with innumerable and intolerable faultes: sic as, Ryming in tearmes, and dyuers others, whilkis ar forbidden in my owne treatise of the Art of Poësie, in the hinder end of this booke, I must, I say, praye you for to appardone mee, for three causes. First, because that translations are limitat, and restraind in some things, more than free inuentions are, Therefore reasoun would, that it had more libertie in others. Secoundlie, because I made noight my treatise of that intention, that eyther I, or any others behoued astricktly to follow it: but that onely it should shew the perfection of Poësie, whereunto fewe or none can attaine. Thirdlye, because, that (as I shewe alreadye) I avow it not for a iust translation. Besydes that I haue but ten feete in my lyne, where he hath twelue, and yet translates him lyne by lyne. Thus not doubting, fauorable Reader, but you will accept my intention and trauellis in good parte,  
 (sen I requyre no farder,) I  
 bid you faire well.

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\* \* \* \* \*

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## L'VRANIE, OV MVSE CELESTE.



E n'estoy point encor en l'Auril de  
 mon aage,  
 Qu'vn desir d'affranchir mon renom  
 du trespas,  
 Chagrin, me faisoit perdre et repos,  
 et repas,  
 Par le braue proiet de maint sçauant  
 ourage.

Mais comme vn pelerin, qui sur le tard, rencontre  
 Vn fourchu carrefour, douteux, s'arreste court :  
 Et d'esprit, non des pieds, de çà de là discourt,  
 Par les diuers chemins, que la Lune luy monstre.

Parmi tant de sentiers qui, fleuris, se vont rendre  
 Sur le mont, où Phœbus guerdonne les beaux vers  
 De l'honneur immortel des lauriers tout-iour verds,  
 Ie demeuroy confus, ne sçachant lequel prendre.

Tantost i'entreprenoy d'orner la Grecque Scene  
 D'vn vestement Francois. Tantost dvn vers plus haut,  
 Hardi, i'ensanglantoy le François eschafaut  
 Des Tyrans d'Ilion, de Thebes, de Mycene.

Ie confacroy tantost à l'Aonide bande  
 L'Histoire des Francois : et ma saincte fureur  
 Desmentant à bon droit la trop commune erreur,  
 Faisoit le Mein Gaulois, non la Seine Alemande.

Tantost ie desseignoy dyne plume flateuse  
 Le los non meritè des Rois et grands Seigneurs :  
 Et, pour me voir bien tost riche d'or, et d'honneurs,  
 D'vn cœur bas ie rendoy mercenaire ma Muse.

Et tandis ie vouloy chanter le fils volage  
 De la molle Cypris, et le mal doux-amer,





THE VRANIE, OR HEA-  
VENLY MVSE.



Carce was I yet in springtyme of my  
years,  
When greening great for fame about  
my pears  
Did make me lose my wonted chere  
and rest,  
Effaying learned works with curious  
brest.

But as the *Pilgrim*, who for lack of light,  
Cumd on the parting of two wayes at night,  
He stays assone, and in his mynde doeth cast,  
What way to take while Moonlight yet doth last.  
So I amongst the paths vpon that hill,  
Where *Phœbus* crowns all verses euer still  
Of endles praise, with *Laurers* always grene,  
Did stay confusde, in doubt what way to mene.  
I whyles effaide the *Grece* in Frenche to praise,  
Whyles in that tounge I gaue a lusty glaife  
For to descryue the *Troian* Kings of olde,  
And them that *Thebes* and *Mycens* crowns did holde.  
And whiles I had the storye of Fraunce elected,  
Which to the Muses I should haue directed :  
My holy furie with consent of nane,  
Made frenche the *Mein*, and nowyse dutche the *Sein*.  
Whiles thought I to set forth with flattring pen :  
The praise vntrewe of Kings and noble men,  
And that I might both golde and honours haue,  
With courage basse I made my Muse a flauē.  
And whyles I thought to sing the fickle boy  
Of *Cypris* soft, and loues to-swete anoy,

Que les plus beaux esprits souffrent pour trop aimer,  
Discours, où me pousoit ma nature, et mon aage.

Or tandis qu' inconstant ie ne me puis refoudre,  
De çà, de là poufsé d vn vent ambitieux,  
Vne sainte beauté se presente à mes yeux,  
Fille, comme ie croy, du grand Dieu lance-foudre.

Sa face est angelique, angelique son geste,  
Son discours tout diuin, et tout parfait son corps :  
Et sa bouche à neuf-voix imite en ses accords  
Le son harmonieux de la dance celeste.

Son chef est honoré d'vne riche couronne  
Faite à sept plis, gliffans d vn diuers mouuement,  
Sur chacun de ses plis se tourne obliquement  
Ie ne sçay quel rondeau, qui sur nos chefs raionne.

Le premier est de plomb, et d estain le deuxiesme,  
Le troisieme d acier, le quart d or iaunissant,  
Le quint est composé d electre pallissant,  
Le fuyuant de Mercure, et d argent le septiesme.

Son corps est affublé d vne mante azurée,  
Semée haut et bas d vn million de feux,  
Qui d vn bel art sans art distinctement confus,  
Decorent de leurs rais ceste beauté sacrée.

Icy luit le grand Char, icy flambe la Lyre,  
Icy la Poufsiniere, icy les clairs Bessons,  
Icy le Trebuschet, icy les deux Poissons,  
Et mille autres brandons que ie ne puis descrire.

Ie suis [dit elle alors] ceste docte VRANIE,  
Qui sur les gonds astrez transporte les humains,  
Faisant voir à leurs yeux, et toucher à leurs mains,  
Ce que la Cour celeste et contemple et manie.

Ie quinte-essence l ame : et fay que le Poete  
Se surmontant foy mesme, enfonce vn haut discours,  
Qui, diuin, par l oreille attire les plus sourds,  
Anime les rochers, et les fleuves arreste.

Agreeable est le sonde mes doctes germanes :  
Mais leur gosier, qui peut terre et ciel enchanter,  
Ne me cede pas moins en l art de bien chanter,  
Qu'au Rofsignol l'Oifon, les Pies aux Syrenes. [aisle

Pren moy donques pour guide : esleue au ciel ton

To lofty sprits that are therewith made blynd,  
 To which discour my nature and age inclynd.  
 But whill I was in doubt what way to go,  
 With wind ambitious tossed to and fro :  
 A holy beuty did to mee appeare,  
 The *Thundrers* daughter seeming as she weare.  
 Her porte was Angellike with Angels face,  
 With comely shape and tounge of heauenly grace :  
 Her nynevoiced mouth resembled into sound  
 The daunce harmonious making heauen refound.  
 Her head was honorde with a costly crown,  
 Seuinfolde and round, to dyuers motions boun :  
 On euery folde I know not what doth glance,  
 Aboue our heads into a circuler dance.  
 The first it is of Lead, of Tin the nixt,  
 The third of Stele, the fourth of Gold vnmixt, The seini  
Planets.  
 The fyfth is made of pale Electre light,  
 The sixt of Mercure, feuint of Siluer bright.  
 Her corps is couered with an Asure gowne, Firnament.  
 Where thousand fires ar sowne both vp and downe :  
 Whilks with an arte, but arte, confusde in order, Fixed  
Starres.  
 Dois with their beames decore thereof the border.  
 Heir shynes the Charlewain, there the Harp giues light,  
 And heir the Seamans starres, and there Twinnis bright,  
 And heir the Ballance, there the Fishes twaine,  
 With thousand other fyres, that pas my braine.  
 I am said she, that learned VRANIE,  
 That to the Starres transports humanitie,  
 And maks men see and twiche with hands and ene  
 It that the heauenly court contemplating bene.  
 I quint-essence the Poets soule so well,  
 While he in high discour excede him fell,  
 Who by the eare the deafest doeth allure,  
 Reuiues the rocks, and staves the floods for sure. Nyne  
Muscs.  
 The tone is pleasaunt of my \* sisters deir :  
 Yet though their throts make heauen and earth admire,  
 They yeld to me no lesse in singing well,  
 Then Pye to Syraine, goose to Nightingell.  
 Take me for guyde, lyft vp to heauen thy wing

Saluste, chante moy du Tout-puissant l honneur,  
 Et remontant le luth du Ieffean fonneur,  
 Courageux, broffe apres la couronne eternelle.

Je ne puis d vn œil fec, voir mes sœurs maquerelles,  
 Des amoreuz François, dont les mignards escrits [cris,  
 Sont pleins de feints souspirs, de feints pleurs, de feints  
 D'impudiques discours, et de vaines querelles.

Je ne puis d vn œil fec voir que l on mette en vente,  
 Nos diuines chanfons : et que d vn flateur vers,  
 Pour gagner la faueur des Princes plus peruers,  
 Vn Commode, vn Neron, vn Caligule on vante.

Mais, fur tout, ie ne puis fans souspirs et sans larmes  
 Voir les vers employez contre l auteur des vers :  
 Je ne puis voir battu le Roy de l'vniuers  
 De ses propres foldats, et de ses propres armes.

L'homme a les yeux fillez de nuits Cimmeriennes,  
 Et s'il a quelque bien, tant soit peu precieux,  
 Par differentes mains il la receu des cieux :  
 Mais Dieu seul nous apprend les chanfons Delphiennes.

Tout art s'apprend par art : la feule Poësie  
 Est vn pur don celeste : et nul ne peut gouster  
 Le miel, que nous faisons de Pinde degoutter  
 S'il n'a d'vn sacré feu la poitrine faisie.

De ceste source vient, que maints grands personnage  
 Confommez en sçauoir, voire en prose diferts,  
 Se trauaillent en vain à composer des vers :  
 Et qu'vn ieune apprenti fait de plus beaux ourages.

De là vient que iadis le chantre Meonide,  
 Combien que mendiant, et sans maistre, et sans yeux,  
 A vaincu par ses vers les nouveaux, et les vieux,  
 Chantant si bien Vlyffe, et le preux Aeacide.

De là vient qu'vn Nafon ne peut parler en prose,  
 De là vient que Daudid mes chants si tost aprit,  
 De pasteur fait Poëte, et que maint ieune esprit [pose.  
 Ne sçachant point nostre art, fuyuant nostre art com-

Recherche nuict et iour les ondes Castalides :  
 Regrimpe nuict et iour contre le roc Besson :  
 Sois disciple d'Homere, et du sainct nourrifson  
 D'Ande, l'heureux seiour des vierges Pierides.

O *Salust*, Gods immortals honour sing :  
 And bending higher *Dauids* Lute in tone,  
 With courage seke yon endles crowne abone.  
 I no wais can, vnwet my cheekes, beholde  
 My sisters made by Frenchemen macquerels olde,  
 Whose mignarde writts, but faynd lamenting vaine,  
 And fayned teares and shamles tales retaine.  
 But weping neither can I see them spyte  
 Our heauenly verse, when they do nothing wryte,  
 But Princes flattery that ar tyrants rather  
 Then *Nero*, *Commode*, or *Caligule* ather.  
 But specially but sobbes I neuer shall  
 Se verse bestowde gainst him made verses all,  
 I can not see his proper foldiers ding  
 With his owne armes him that of all is King.  
 Mans eyes are blinded with *Cimmerien* night :  
 And haue he any good, beit neuer so light,  
 From heauen, by mediat moyens, he it reaches,  
 Bot only God the *Delphiens* song vs teaches.  
 All art is learned by art, this art alone  
 It is a heauenly gift : no flesh nor bone  
 Can preif the honnie we from *Pinde* distill,  
 Except with holy fyre his breest we fill.  
 From that spring flowes, that men of speciall chofe,  
 Consumde in learning, and perfyte in prose,  
 For to make verse in vaine dois trauell take.  
 When as a prentise fairer works will make.  
 That made that *Homer*, who a songster bene,  
 Albeit a beggar, lacking master, and ene,  
 Exceded in his verse both new and olde,  
 In singing *Vlifs* and *Achilles* bolde.  
 That made that *Naso* nocht could speak but verse,  
 That *David* made my songs so sone reherse,  
 Of pastor Poët made. yea youngmen whyles  
 Vnknowing our art, yet by our art compyles.  
 Seke night and day *Castalias* waltring waas,  
 Climme day and night the twinrocks of *Parnaas* :  
 Be *Homers* skoller, and his, was born in *Ande*,  
 The happie dwelling place of all our bande.

Lis tant que tu voudras, volume apres volume,  
 Les liures de Pergame, et de la grande cité,  
 Qui du nom d'Alexandre a son nom emprunté :  
 Exerce incessamment et ta langue, et ta plume.

Ioin tant que tu voudras, pour vn carme bien faire  
 L'obscure nuit au iour, et le iour à la nuit,  
 Si ne pourras tu point cueillir vn digne fruit  
 D'un si fascheux trauail, si Pallas t'est contraire. [forte,

Car du tout hors de l'homme il fault que l'homme  
 Sil veut faire des vers qui facent teste aux ans :  
 Il fault qu'entre nos mains il sequestre ses sens :  
 Il fault qu'un saint ecstase au plus haut ciel l'emporte.

D'autant que tout ainsi que la fureur humaine  
 Rend l'homme moins qu'humain : la diuine fureur  
 Rend l'homme plus grand qu'homme : et d'une sainte  
 Sur le ciel porte-feux à son gré le promeine. [erreur

Cest d'un si sacré lieu que les diuins poëtes  
 Nous apportent ça bas de si doctes propos,  
 Et des vers non fuiets au pouuoir d'Atropos,  
 Truchemens de Nature, et du Ciel interpretes.

Les vrais Poëtes sont tels que la cornemuse,  
 Qui pleine de vent sonne, et vuide perd le son :  
 Car leur fureur durant, dure aussi leur chanson :  
 Et si la fureur cesse, aussi cesse leur Muse.

Puis donques que les vers ont au ciel pris naissance,  
 Esprits vrayment diuins, aurez vous bien le cœur  
 De prononcer vn vers et profane, et moqueur  
 Contre cil, qui conduit des cieux astrez la danse ?

Serez vous tant ingrats, que de rendre vos plumes  
 Ministres de la chair, et serues de peché ?  
 Tout-iour donques fera vostre style empesché  
 A remplir, mensongers, de songes vos volumes ?

Ferez-vous, ô trompeurs, tout-iour d'un diable un Ange ?  
 Fendrez vous tout-iour l'air de vos amoureux cris ?  
 Hé ! n'orra on iamais dans vos doctes escrits  
 Retentir haut et clair du grand Dieu la louange ?

Ne vous suffit il pas de sentir dans vostre ame  
 Le Cyprien brandon, sans que plus effrontez  
 Qu'une Lays publique, encor vous euentez

How oft thou lykes reid ouer booke efter booke,  
 The bookes of *Troy*, and of that towne which tooke  
 Her name from *Alexander* Monark then, Alexandria  
 Exerce but cease thy tounge and eke thy pen.  
 Yea, if to make good verse thou hes sic cure,  
 Ioyne night and day, and day to night obscure,  
 Yet shall thou not the worthy frute reape so  
 Of all thy paines, if *Pallas* be thy fo.  
 For man from man must wholly parted be,  
 If with his age, his verse do well agree.  
 Amongst our hands, he must his witts resing,  
 A holy trance to highest heauen him bring.  
 For euen as humane fury maks the man.  
 Les then the man : So heauenly fury can  
 Make man pas man, and wander in holy mist,  
 Vpon the fyrie heauen to walk at list.  
 Within that place the heauenly Poëts fought  
 Their learning, fyne to vs heare downe it brought,  
 With verse that ought to *Atropos* no dewe,  
 Dame *Natures* trunchmen, heauens interprets trewe,  
 For Poets right are lyke the pype alway,  
 Who full doth found, and empty staves to play :  
 Euen so their fury lasting, lasts their tone,  
 Their fury ceast, their Muse doth stay affone.  
 Sen verse did then in heauen first bud and blume,  
 If ye be heauenly, how dar ye presume  
 A verse prophane, and mocking for to sing  
 Gainst him that leads of starrie heauens the ring ?  
 Will ye then so ingrately make your pen,  
 A flauie to sinne, and serue but fleshy men ?  
 Shall still your brains be busied then to fill  
 With dreames, ô dreamers, euery booke and bill ?  
 Shall Satan still be God for your behoue ?  
 Still will ye riue the aire with cryes of loue ?  
 And shall there neuer into your works appeare,  
 The praise of God, resounding loud and cleare ?  
 Suffis it nought ye feele into your hairt  
 The *Ciprian* torche, vnles more malapairt  
 Then *Lais* commoun quean, ye blow abroad

Par le monde abusé vostre impudique flamme ?

Ne vous suffit il pas de croupir en delices,  
 Sans que vous corrompiez, par vos nombres charmeurs,  
 Du lecteur indiscret les peu-constantes mœurs,  
 Luy faisant embrasfer pour les vertus les vices ?

Les tons, nombres, et chants, dont se fait l'harmonie,  
 Qui rend le vers si beau, ont sur nous tel pouuoir,  
 Que les plus durs Catons ils peuuent esmouuoir,  
 Agitant nos esprits d'vne douce manie.

Ainsi que le cachet dedans la cire forme  
 Presque vn autre cachet, le Poete sçauant,  
 Va si bien dans nos cœurs ses passions grauant,  
 Que presque l'auditeur en l'auteur se transforme.

Car la force des vers, qui secrettement glisse,  
 Par des secrets conduits, dans nos entendemens,  
 Y empreint tous les bons et mauuais mouuemens,  
 Qui sont representez par vn docte artifice.

Et c'est pourquoy Platon hors de sa Republique  
 Chassoit les escriuains, qui fouloient par leurs vers  
 Rendre meschans les bons, plus peruers les peruers,  
 Sapans par leurs beaux mots l'honesteté publique.

Non ceux qui dans leurs chants marioient les beaux  
 Auec les beaux suiets : ore entonnans le los [termes  
 Du iuste foudroyeur : ore d'vn faint propos,  
 Seruans aux desuoyez et de guides et d'Hermes.

Profanes escriuains, vostre impudique rime,  
 Est cause, que l'on met nos chantres mieux-disans  
 Au rang des basteleurs, des boufons, des plaisans :  
 Et qu'encore moins qu'eux le peuple les estime.

Vos faites de Clion vne Thais impure :  
 D'Helicon vn bordeau : vous faites impudens,  
 Par vos lascifs discours, que les peres prudens  
 Deffendent à leurs fils des carmes la lecture.

Mais si foulans aux pieds la deité volage,  
 Qui blece de ces traits vos idolatres cœurs,  
 Vous vouliez employer vos plus sainctes fureurs  
 A faire voir en France vn sacré-sainct ouurage.

Chacun vous priferoit, comme estans secretaires,  
 Et ministres sacrez du Roy de l vniuers.



But shame, athort the world, your shameles god ?  
 Abusers, staikes it not to lurk in lust,  
 Without ye smit with charming numbers iust  
 The fickle maners of the reader slight,  
 In making him embrace, for day, the night ?  
 The harmony of number tone and song,  
 That makes the verse so fair, it is so strong  
 Ouer vs, as hardest *Catos* it will moue,  
 With spreits aflought, and sweete transported loue.  
 For as into the wax the seals imprint  
 Is lyke a seale, right so the Poët gent,  
 Doeth graue so viue in vs his passions strange,  
 As maks the reader, halfe in author change.  
 For verses force is sic, that softly flydes  
 Throw secret poris, and in our fences bydes,  
 As makes them haue both good and euill imprinted,  
 Which by the learned works is represented.  
 And therefore *Platos* common wealth did pack  
 None of these Poëts, who by verse did make  
 The goodmen euill, and the wicked worse,  
 Whose pleasaunt words betraied the publick corse.  
 Not those that in their songs good tearmes alwaise  
 Ioynd with fair Them: whyles thundring out the praise  
 Of God, iust Thundrer: whyles with holy speache,  
 Lyke *Hermes* did the way to strayers teache.  
 Your shameles rymes, are cause, ô Scribes prophane,  
 That in the lyke opinion we remaine  
 With Iuglers, buffons, and that foolish seames :  
 Yea les then them, the people of vs esteames.  
 For *Clio* ye put *Thais* vyle in vre,  
 For *Helicon* a bordell. Ye procure  
 By your lasciuious speache, that fathers sage  
 Defends verse reading, to their yonger age.  
 But lightleing \* yon fleing godhead slight,  
 Who in Idolatrous breasts his darts hath pight.  
 If that ye would imploy your holy traunce,  
 To make a holy hallowde worke in Fraunce :  
 Then euery one wolde worthy scribes you call,  
 And holy seruants to the King of all.

Chacun reuereroit comme oracles vos vers :  
Et les grands commettroient en vos mains leurs affaires.

La liaifon des vers fut iadis inuentee  
Seulement pour traiter les myfteres facrez  
Auec plus de refpect : et de long temps apres  
Par les carmes ne fut autre chofe chantee.

Ainfi mon grand Daudid fur la corde tremblante  
De fon luth tout-diuin ne fonne rien que Dieu.  
Ainfi le conducteur de l'exercite Hebrieu,  
Sauué des rouges flots, le los du grand Dieu chante.

Ainfi Iudith, Delbore, au milieu des genfd'armes,  
Ainfi Iob, Ieremie, accablez de douleurs,  
D vn carme bigarré de cent mille couleurs  
Defcriuoient faintement leurs ioyes, et leurs larmes.

Voyla pourquoy Satan, qui fin se tranffigure  
En Ange de clarté pour nous enforcerer,  
Ses prestres et fes dieux faifoit iadis parler,  
Non d vne libre language, ains par nombre, et mefure.

Ainfi, fous Apollon la folle Phœmonoe  
En hexametes vers fes oracles chantoit :  
Et, par douteux propos, cauteleufe affrontoit  
Non le Grec feulement, ains l'Ibere, et l'Eoe.

Ainfi l antique voix en Dodone adorée,  
Aefculape, et Ammon en vers prophetizoient,  
Les Sibylles en vers le futur predifoient,  
Et les prestres prioient en raifon nombrée.

Ainfi Line, Hefiode, et celui dont la lyre  
Oreilloit, comme on dit, les rocs, et les forests,  
Oferent autrefois les plus diuins secrets  
De leur profond fçauoir en doctes vers efcire.

Vous qui tant defirez vos fronts de laurier ceindre,  
Où pourriez vous trouuer vn champ plus fpacieux,  
Que le los de celui qui tient le frein des cieux,  
Qui fait trembler les monts, qui fait l'Erebe craindre ?

Ce fuiet est de vray la Corne d'abondance,  
C'est vn grand magazin riche en discours faconds,  
C'est vn grand Ocean, qui n'a riue, ny fonds,  
Vn furjon immortel de diuine eloquence.

L'humble fuiet ne peut qu'humble discours produire :

Echone your verfe for oracles wolde take,  
 And great men of their counsell wolde you make.  
 The verfes knitting was found out and tryt,  
 For finging only holy myfteries by it  
 With greater grace. And efter that, were pend  
 Longtyme no verfe, but for that only end.  
 Euen fo my *Dauid* on the trembling ftrings  
 Of heauenly harps, Gods only praife he fings.  
 Euen fo the leader of the *Hebreuv* hoft  
 Gods praife did fing vpon the Redfea coft  
 So *Iudith* and *Delbor* in the foldiers throngs,  
 So *Iob* and *Ieremie*, preaft with woes and wrongs,  
 Did right defcryue their ioyes, their woes and torts,  
 In variant verfe of hundreth thousand forts.  
 And therefore crafty Sathan, who can feame  
 An Angell of light, to witch vs in our dreame,  
 He caufde his gods and preefts of olde to fpeake  
 By nomber and meafure, which they durft not breake.  
 So fond *Phæmonoë* vnder *Apollos* wing,  
 Her oracles *Hexameter* did fing:  
 With doubtffum talk fhe craftely begylde,  
 Not only *Grece*, but *Spaine* and *Indes* fhe fylde.  
 That olde voce ferude in *Dodon*, fpak in verfe,  
 So *Æfculap* did, and fo did *Ammon* fearfe,  
 So *Sybills* tolde in verfe, what was to come:  
 The Preefts did pray by numbers, all and fome.  
 So *Hefiod*, *Line*, and he\* whose Lute they fay, *Orpheus*  
 Made rocks and forrefts come to heare him play,  
 Durft well their heauenly fecrets all difcloes,  
 In learned verfe, that foftly flydes and goes.  
 O ye that wolde your browes with *Laurel* bind,  
 What larger feild I pray you can you find,  
 Then is his praife, who brydles heauens moft cleare,  
 Maks mountaines tremble, and howeft hells to feare?  
 That is a horne of plenty well repleat:  
 That is a ftorehoufe riche, a learning feat.  
 An Ocean hudge, both lacking fhore and ground,  
 Of heauenly eloquence a fpring profound.  
 From fubiefts bafe, a bafe difcourf dois fpring,

Mais le graue fuiet de foymefme produit  
Graues et mafles mots : de foymefmes il luit,  
Et fait le fainct honneur de fon chantre reluire.

Or donc fi vous voulez apres vos cendres viure,  
N'imitiez Eroftrat, qui pour viure, brufla  
Le temple Ephesien : ou celuy qui moula,  
Pour eftendre fon nom, vn cruel veau de cuiure.

Ne vueillez employer vofre rare artifice  
A chanter la Cyprine, et fon fils emplumé :  
Car il vaut beaucoup mieux n'efre point renommé,  
Que fe voir renommé pour raifon de fon vice.

Vierges font les neuf fœurs, qui dancent fur Parnaffe,  
Vierge vofre Pallas : et vierge ce beau corps  
Qu' vn fleuve vit changer fur les humides bords  
En l'arbre tout-iour vert, qui vous cheueux enlace.

Confacrez moy pluftoft cefte rare eloquence  
A chanter hautement les miracles compris  
Dans le facré fueillet : et de vos beaux efprits  
Verfez là, mes amis, toute la quinte-efcence. [melle

Que Chrift, comme Homme-Dieu, foit la croupe iu-  
Sur qui vous fommeillez. Que pour cheual ailé  
L'Efprit du Trois-fois grand, d vn blanc pigeon voilé,  
Vous face ruifeler vne fource immortelle.

Tout ouurage excellent la memoire eternize  
De ceux qui tant foit peu trauaillent apres luy :  
Le Maufolee a fait viure iufquaiourd huy  
Timothee, Bryace, et Scope, et Artemife.

Hiram feroit fans nom, fans la fainte afsiftance  
Qu'il fit au baftiment du temple d'Ifraël.  
Et fans l'Arche de Dieu l'Hebrieu Befeleel  
Seroit enfeveli fous eternal filence.

Et puis que la beauté de ces rares ouurages  
Fait viure apres la mort tous ceux qui les ont faits,  
Combien qu'avec le temps les plus feurs foient deffaits  
Par rauines, par feux, par guerres, par orages.

Penflez, ie vous fuppli, combien fera plus belle  
La louange, qu heureux, ça bas vous acquerrez,  
Lors que dans vos faincs vers DIEV feul vous chanterez  
Puis qu vn nom immortel vient de chofe immortelle.

A lofty subiect of it selfe doeth bring  
 Graue words and weghtie, of it selfe diuine,  
 And makes the authors holy honour thine.  
 If ye wolde after ashes liue, bewaire,  
 To do lyke *Erostrat*, who brunt the faire  
*Ephesian* temple, or him, to win a name,  
 \* Who built of brasse, the crewell Calfe vntame. Perillus  
 Let not your art so rare then be defylde,  
 In singng *Venus* and her fethred chyde :  
 For better it is without renowme to be,  
 Then be renowmde for vyle iniquitie.  
 Those nyne are Maides, that daunce vpon *Parnaas*?  
 Learnd *Pallas* is a Virgin pure, lyke as  
 \* That fair, whome waters changed on wattry banks Daphne  
 Into \* that tre still grene, your hair that hanks. Laurell  
 Then consecrat that eloquence most rair,  
 To sing the lofty miracles and fair  
 Of holy Scripture : and of your good ingyne,  
 Poure out, my frends, there your sist-essence fyne.  
 Let Christ both God and man your Twinrock be,  
 Whome on ye slepe : for that \*hors who did fle, Pegasus  
 Speak of that \*thryse great spreit, whose dow most white  
 Mote make your spring flow euer with delyte. Holyghost.  
 All excellent worke beare record euer shall,  
 Of trauellers in it, though their paines be small.  
 The *Mausole* tombe the names did eternise  
 Of *Scope*, *Timotheus*, *Briace* and *Artemise*.  
 But *Hirams* holy help, it war vnknowne  
 What he in building *Izraels* Temple had showne,  
 Without Gods Ark *Beseleel* Iewe had bene  
 In euerlasting silence buried clene.  
 Then, since the bewty of those works most rare  
 Hath after death made liue all them that ware  
 Their builders : though them selues with tyme be failde,  
 By spoils, by fyres, by warres, and tempests quailde.  
 I pray you think, how mekle fairer shall  
 Your happie name heirdowne be, when as all  
 Your holy verfe, great God alone shall sing,  
 Since praise immortall commes of endles thing.

Je ſçay que vous direz que les antiques fables  
Sont l'ame de vos chants, que ces contes diuers,  
L'vn de l'autre naiffans, peuuent rendre vos vers  
Beaucoup plus que l'hiſtoire au vulgaire admirables.

Mais où peut on trouuer choſes plus merueilleuſes  
Que celles de la Foy? hé! quel autre argument  
Auec plus de teſmoins noſtre raiſon deſment,  
Qui rabat plus l'orgueil des ames curieufes?

J'aymeroy mieux chanter la tour Affyrienne,  
Que les trois monts Gregeois l'vn deſſus l'autre entez  
Pour dethroſner du ciel les dieux eſpouuantez :  
Et l'onde de Noé, que la Deucalienne.

J'aymeroy mieux chanter le changement ſubite  
Du Monarque d'Affur, que de l'Arcadien,  
Et le viure ſecond du ſaint Bethanien,  
Que le recolement des membres d'Hippolite.

L'vn de plaire au lecteur tant ſeulement ſe meſſe,  
Et l'autre ſeulement taſche de profiter :  
Mais ſeuil celuy là peut le laurier meriter,  
Qui, ſage, le profit auec le plaifir meſſe.

Les plus beaux promenoirs ſont pres de la marine,  
Et le nager plus ſuer pres des riuages verds :  
Et le ſage Eſcriuain n'eſloigne dans ſes vers  
Le ſçauoir du plaifir, le ieu de la doctrine.

Vous tiendrez donc ce rang en chantant choſes telles :  
Car enſeignans autruy, vous meſmes apprendrez  
La reigle de bien viure : et bien-heureux, rendez  
Autant que leurs ſuiets, vos chanſons immortelles.

Laiſſez moy donc à part ces fables ſurannées :  
Mes amis, laiſſez moy ceſt insolent Archer,  
Qui les cœurs otieux peut ſeulement brefcher,  
Et plus ne foyent par vous les Muſes profanées.

Mais las! en vain ie crie, en vain, las! ie m'enroue :  
Car l'vn, pour ne ſe voir conuaincu par mon chant,  
Va, comme vn fin aſpic, ſon oreille bouchant :  
L'autre Epicurien, de mes diſcours ſe ioue.

L'autre pour quelque temps ſe range en mon eſchole  
Mais le monde enchanteur ſoudain le me ſouſtraie,  
Et ce diſcours ſacré, qui les ſeuils bons attrait,

I know that ye will say, the auncient rables  
 Decores your songs, and that \* those dyuers fables, Metamor  
phosis  
 Ilk bred of other, doeth your verses mak  
 More loued then storyes by the vulgar pack.  
 But where can there more wondrous things be found,  
 'Then those of faith? ô fooles, what other ground,  
 With witnes mo, our reasons quyte improues,  
 Beats doun our pryde, that curious questions moues?  
 I had farr rather *Babell* tower forthsett, Ossa Pin-  
dus, and  
Olympus  
 Then the \* thre *Grecian* hilles on others plett,  
 To pull doun gods afraide, and in my moode,  
 Sing *Noës* rather then *Deucalions* floode.  
 I had far rather sing the suddaine change Nabuchad  
nezer.  
 Of *Affurs* monark, then of *Arcas* strange.  
 Of the\* *Bethaniens* holy second liuing, Lazarus.  
 Then *Hippolitts* with members glewde reuiuing.  
 To please the Reader is the ones whole cair,  
 The vther for to proffite mair and mair :  
 But only he of *Laurell* is conding,  
 Who wyfely can with proffit, pleasure ming.  
 The fairest walking on the Sea coast bene,  
 And fuirest swimming where the braes are grene :  
 So, wyfe is he, who in his verse can haue  
 Skill mixt with pleasure, sports with doctrine graue.  
 In singing kepe this order shoven you heir,  
 Then ye your self, in teaching men shall leir  
 The rule of liuing well, and happely shall  
 Your songs make, as your them immortal all.  
 No more into those owerere lies delyte,  
 My freinds, cast of that insolent archer quyte,  
 Who only may the ydle harts surpryse :  
 Prophane no more the *Muses* with yon cries.  
 But oh ! in vaine, with crying am I horce :  
 For lo, where one, nocht caring my songs force,  
 Goes lyke a crafty snaik, and stoppes his eare :  
 The other godles, mocks and will not heare.  
 Ane other at my schoole abydes a space,  
 While charming world withdrawe him from that place :  
 So that discours, that maks good men reiose,

Entre par vne aureille, et par l'autre s'envolle.

Las ! ie n en voy pas vn qui fes deux yeux defille  
Du bandeau de Venus, et d vn profane fiel  
De fes carmes dorez ne corrompe le miel :  
Bien que de bons esprits nostre France fourmille.

Mais toy, mon cher mignon, que la Neufuaine faincte  
Qui de Pegase boit le surjon perennel,  
Fit le sacré sonneur du los de l'Eternel,  
Mesme auant que de toy ta mere fust enceinte :

Bien que cest argument semble vne maigre lande,  
Que les meilleurs esprits ont en friche laïsé,  
Ne foïs pour l auenir de ce trauail laïsé :  
Car plus la glorie est rare, et tant plus elle est grande.

SALVSTE, ne perds cœur si tu vois que l Enuie  
Aille abbayant, maligne, apres ton los naissant :  
Ne crain que sous ses pieds elle aille tapissant  
Les vers que tu feras, comme indignes de vie.

Ce monstre blece-honneur reffemble la Mastine,  
Qui iappe contre ceux qui font nouveau venus,  
Pardonnant toutesfois à ceux qui font cognus,  
Curtoïse enuers ceux cy, enuers ceux là mutine:

Ce monstre semble encor vne fameuse nue,  
Que le naissant Vulcan presse de toutes pars,  
Pour, noire, l estouffer de ses ondeux brouillars :  
Mais où plus ce feu croist, plus elle diminue.

Sui donc (mon cher fouci) ce chemin non froyable  
Que par ceux, que le ciel, liberal, veut benir,  
Et ie iure qu en brief ie te feray tenir  
Entre les bons esprits quelque rang honorable.

Cest par ce beau discours que la Muse celeste  
Tenant vne couronne en sa pucelle main,  
Attire à foy mon cœur d vn transport plus qu'humain,  
Tant bien à ses doux mots elle adiouste vn doux geste.

Depuis, ce feul amour dans mes veines bouillonne :  
Depuis, ce feul vent souffle és toiles de ma nef :  
Bien-heureux si ie puis non poser sur mon chef,  
Ains du doigt seulement toucher ceste couronne.



At one eare enters, and at the other goes.  
 Alas, I se not one vnvaill his ene  
 From *Venus* vaill and gal prophane, that bene  
 To golden honnied verfe, the only harme,  
 Although our France with lofty sprits doth swarme.  
 But thou my deir one, whome the holy *Nyne*,  
 Who yearly drinks *Pegasis* fountaine fyne,  
 The great gods holy songfter had receiued,  
 Yea, euen before thy mother the conceiued.  
 Albeit this subiect feame a barren ground,  
 With quickeft spreits left ley, as they it found,  
 Irk not for that heirefter of thy paine,  
 Thy glore by rairnes greater shall remaine.  
 O *Salust*, lose not heart, though pale Inuye  
 Bark at thy praise increasing to the skye,  
 Feare not that she tread vnder foote thy verfe,  
 As if they were vnworthie to reherfe.  
 This monfter honnors-hurt is lyke the curr,  
 That barks at strangers comming to the durr,  
 But sparing alwaies those are to him knowin,  
 To them most gentle, to the others throwin.  
 This monfter als is lyke a rauing cloude,  
 Which threatnes alwayis kendling *Vulcan* loude.  
 To smore and drowne him, with her powring raine,  
 Yet force of fyre repellis her power againe.  
 Then follow furth, my sonne, that way unfeard,  
 Of them whom in fre heauens gift hath appeard.  
 And heare I sweare, thou shortly shall resauce  
 Some noble rank among good spreits and graue.  
 This heauenly *Muse* by such discourfes fair,  
 Who in her Virgin hand a riche crowne bair :  
 So drew to her my heart, so farr transported,  
 And with swete grace, so swetely she exhorted :  
 As since that loue into my braines did brew,  
 And since that only wind my shipfaiiles blew,  
 I thought me blest, if I might only clame  
 To touche that crown, though not to weare the fame.

FINIS.

A N E M E T A P H O R I C A L L  
I N V E N T I O N O F A T R A G E D I E  
C A L L E D P H O E N I X.

A Colonne of 18 lynes seruing for a Preface  
to the Tragedie ensuyng.

1                    Elf                    1  
                  2   Echo                    2  
                  3   help, that both                    3  
                  4   together                    we,                    4  
                  5   Since cause there be, may                    5  
                  6   now lament with tearis, My                    6  
                  7   murnefull yearis.                    Ye furies als                    7  
                  8   with him, Euen Pluto grim, who duells                    8  
                  9   in dark, that he, Since chief we se him                    9  
                  10   to you all that bearis The style men fearis of                    10  
11   Diræ, I request, Eche greizlie ghest that dwells                    11  
12   beneth the fee, With all yon thre, whose hairs are fnaiks                    12  
12   full blew, And all your crew, assist me in thir twa:                    12  
11   Repeit and sha my Tragedie full neir, The                    11  
10   chance fell heir. then secundlie is best, Deuills                    10  
9   void of rest, ye moue all that it reid,                    9  
8   With me in deid lyke dolour them                    8  
7   to griv', I then will liv' in                    7  
6   lesser greif therebj.                    Kyth                    6  
5   heir and try your force                    5  
4   ay bent and quick,                    4  
3   Excell                    in                    3  
2   sik like                    2  
1                    ill,                    1  
                  and murne with  
                  me. From Delphos fyne  
                  Apollo cum with speid: Whose  
                  shining light my cairs will dim in deid.

✿ The expansion of the  
former Colomne.

E	If Echo help, that both together w	E
(S	ince caufe there be) may now lament with teari	S
M	y murnefull yearis. Ye furies als with hi	M
E	uen Pluto grim, who dwels in dark, that h	E
S	ince cheif we fe him to you all that beari	S
T	he ftyle men fearis of Diræ : I requef	T
E	che greizlie gheft, that dwells beneth the S	E
W	ith all yon thre, whose hairis ar fnaiks full ble	W
A	nd all your crew, affift me in thir tw	A
R	epeit and fha my Tragedie full nei	R
T	he chance fell heir. Then fecoundlie is bef	T
D	euilis void of reft, ye moue all that it rei	D
W	ith me, indeid, lyke dolour thame to gri	V
I	then will liv', in leffer greif therebi	I
K	ythe heir and trie, your force ay bent and quic	K
E	xcell in fik lyke ill, and murne with m	F
	From Delphos fyne Apollo cum with fpeid,	
	VVhose fhining light my cairis wil dim in deid.	



## P H O E N I X.



HE dyuers falls, that *Fortune* geuis  
to men,  
By turning ouer her quheill to their  
annoy,  
When I do heare them grudge,  
although they ken  
That old blind *Dame*, delytes to let  
the ioy

Of all, fuche is her vse, which dois conuoy  
Her quheill by gefs: not looking to the right,  
Bot still turnis vp that pairt quhilk is too light.

Thus quhen I hard so many did complaine,  
Some for the losse of worldly wealth and geir,  
Some death of frends, quho can not come againe:  
Some losse of health, which vnto all is deir,  
Some losse of fame, which still with it dois beir  
Ane greif to them, who mereits it indeid:  
Yet for all thir appearis there some remeid.

For as to geir, lyke chance has made you want it,  
Restore you may the fame againe or mair.  
For death of frends, although the fame (I grant it)  
Can nought returne, yet men are not so rair,  
Bot ye may get the lyke. For feiknes fair  
Your health may come: or to ane better place  
Ye must. For fame, good deids will mend disgrace.

Then, fra I saw (as I already told)  
 How men complaind for things whilk might amend,  
 How *David Lindsay* did complaine of old  
 His *Papingo*, her death, and sudder end,  
 Ane common foule, whose kinde be all is kend.  
 All these hes moved me presently to tell  
 Ane Tragedie, in griefs thir to excell.

For I complaine not of sic common cace,  
 Which diuersly by diuers means dois fall :  
 But I lament my *Phœnix* rare, whose race,  
 Whose kynde, whose kin, whose offspring, they be all  
 In her alone, whome I the *Phœnix* call.  
 That fowle which only one at onis did liue,  
 Not liues, alas ! though I her praise revieue.

In *Arabie* cald *Fœlix* was she bredd  
 This foule, excelling *Iris* farr in hew.  
 Whose body whole, with purpour was owercledd,  
 Whose taill of coulour was celestially blew,  
 With skarlat pennis that through it mixed grew :  
 Her craig was like the yallowe burnisht gold,  
 And she her self thre hundreth yeare was old.

She might haue liued as long againe and mair,  
 If fortune had not stayde dame *Natures* will :  
 Six hundreth yeares and fourtie was her scair,  
 Which *Nature* ordained her for to fulfill.  
 Her natiue soile she hanted euer still,  
 Except to *Egypt* whiles she tooke her course,  
 Wherethrough great *Nylus* down runs from his source.

Like as ane hors, when he is barded haile,  
 An fethered pannach fet vpon his heid,  
 Will make him feame more braue : Or to affaile  
 The enemie, he that the troups dois leid,  
 Ane pannache on his healme will fet in deid :  
 Euen so, had *Nature*, to decore her face ;  
 Giuen her ane tap, for to augment her grace.

In quantitie, ſhe dois reſemble neare  
 Vnto the foule of mightie *Ioue*, by name  
 The *AEgle* calld: oft in the time of yeare,  
 She vſde to ſoir, and flie through diuers realme,  
 Out through the *Azure* ſkyes, whill ſhe did ſhame  
 The Sunne himſelf, her coulour was ſo bright,  
 Till he abaſhit beholding ſuch a light.

Thus whill ſhe vſde to ſcum the ſkyes about,  
 At laſt ſhe chanced to fore out ower the ſee  
 Calld *Mare Rubrum*: yet her courſe held out  
 Whill that ſhe paſt whole *Aſie*. Syne to flie  
 To *Europe* ſmall ſhe did reſolue: To drie  
 Her voyage out, at laſt ſhe came in end  
 Into this land, ane ſtranger heir vnkend.

Ilk man did maruell at her forme moſt rare  
 The winter came, and ſtorms cled all the feild:  
 Which ſtorms, the land of fruit and corne made bare,  
 Then did ſhe flie into an houſe for beild,  
 VVhich from the ſtorms might faue her as an ſheild.  
 There, in that houſe ſhe firſt began to tame,  
 I came, fyne tooke her furth out of the ſame.

Fra I her gat, yet none could gefs what fort  
 Of foule ſhe was, nor from what countrey cum:  
 Nor I my ſelf: except that be her port,  
 And gliſtring hewes I knew the ſhe was ſum  
 Rare ſtranger foule, which oft had vſde to ſcum  
 Through diuers lands, delyting in her flight;  
 VVhich made vs ſee, ſo ſtrange and rare a fight.

Whill at the laſt, I chanced to call to minde  
 How that her nature, did reſemble neir  
 To that of *Phenix* which I red. Her kinde,  
 Her hewe, her ſhape, did mak it plaine appeir,  
 She was the ſame, which now was lighted heir.  
 This made me to eſteme of her the more,  
 Her name and rarenes did her ſo decore.

Thus being tamed, and throughly weill acquent.  
 She took delyte (as she was wount before)  
 VVhat tyme that *Titan* with his beames vpsprent,  
 To take her flight, amongs the skyes to foire.  
 Then came to her of fowlis, a woundrous store  
 Of diuers kinds, some simple fowlis, some ill  
 And rauening fowlis, whilks simple onis did kill.

And euen as they do swarme about their king  
 The hunnie *Bees*, that works into the hyue:  
 VVhen he delysts furth of the skepps to spring,  
 Then all the leaue will follow him belyue,  
 Syne to be nixt him biffelie they striue:  
 So, all thir fowlis did follow her with beir,  
 For loue of her, fowlis rauening did no deir.

Such was the loue, and reuerence they her bure,  
 Ilk day whill euen, ay whill they shedd at night.  
 Fra time it darkned, I was euer sure  
 Of her returne, remaining whill the light,  
 And *Phæbus* ryfing with his garland bright.  
 Such was her trueth, fra time that she was tame,  
 She, who in brightnes *Titans* self did shame.

By vse of this, and hanting it, at last  
 She made the foules, fra time that I went out,  
 Aboue my head to flie, and follow fast  
 Her, who was chief and leader of the rout.  
 When it grew lait, she made them flie, but doubt,  
 Or feare, euen in the cloffe with her of will,  
 Syne she her self, perkt in my chalmer still.

When as the countreys round about did heare  
 Of this her byding in this countrey cold,  
 Which not but hills, and darknes ay dois beare,  
 (And for this cause was *Scotia* calld of old,)  
 Her lyking here, when it was to them told,  
 And how she greind not to go backe againe:  
 The loue they bure her, turnd into difdaine.

Lo, here the fruitcs, whilks of *Inuy* dois breid,  
 To harme them all, who vertue dois imbrace.  
 Lo, here the fruitcs, from her whilks dois proceid,  
 To harme them all, that be in better cace  
 Then others be. So followed they the trace  
 Of proud *Inuy*, thir countreyis lying neir,  
 That such a foule, should lyke to tary heir.

Whill Fortoun at the last, not onely moued  
*Inuy* to this, which could her not content,  
 Whill that *Inuy*, did fease som foules that loued  
 Her anis as femed : but yet their ill intent  
 Kythed, when they saw all other foules still bent  
 To follow her, misknowing them at all.  
 This made them worke her vnderferued fall.

Thir were the rauening fowls, whome of I spak  
 Before, the whilks (as I already shew)  
 Was wount into her presence to hald bak  
 Their crueltie, from simples ones, that flew  
 With her, ay whill *Inuy* all feare withdrew.  
 Thir ware, the *Rauin*, the *Stainchell*, and the *Gled*,  
 With others kynds, whom in this malice bred.

Fra *Malice* thus was rooted be *Inuy*,  
 In them as sone the awin effects did shaw.  
 VVhich made them fyne, vpon ane day, to spy  
 And wait till that, as she was wount, she saw  
 Athort the skyes, fyne did they neir her draw,  
 Among the other fowlis of dyuers kynds,  
 Although they ware farr dissonant in mynds.

For where as they ware wount her to obey,  
 Their mynde farr contrair then did plaine appeare.  
 For then they made her as a commoun prey  
 To them, of whome she looked for no deare,  
 They strake at her so bitterly, whill feare  
 Stayde other fowlis to preis for to defend her  
 From thir ingrate, whilks now had clene miskend her.



When she could find none other faue refuge  
 From these their bitter straits, she fled at last  
 To me ( as if she wolde wishe me to iudge  
 The wrong they did her ) yet they followed fast  
 Till she betuix my leggs her selfe did cast.  
 For sauing her from these, which her opprest,  
 Whose hote pursute, her suffred not to rest.

Bot yet at all that serued not for remeid,  
 For noghttheles, they spaird her not a haire  
 In stede of her, yea whyles they made to bleid  
 My leggs : ( so grew their malice mair and mair )  
 Which made her both to rage and to dispair,  
 First, that but cause they did her such dishort :  
 Nixt, that she laked help in any fort.

Then hauing tane ane dry and wethered stra,  
 In deip dispair, and in ane lofty rage  
 She sprang vp heigh, outfleing euary fa :  
 Syne to *Panchaia* came, to change her age  
 Vpon *Apollos* altar, to asfwage  
 With outward fyre her inward raging fyre :  
 Which then was all her cheif and whole desyre.

Then being carefull, the event to know  
 Of her, who homeward had returnde againe  
 Where she was bred, where storms dois neuer blow,  
 Nor bitter blasts, nor winter snows, nor raine,  
 But sommer still : that countray doeth so staine  
 All realmes in fairnes. There in haste I sent,  
 Of her to know the yffew and event.

The messinger went there into sic haste,  
 As could permit the farnes of the way,  
 By crossing ower sa mony countreys waste  
 Or he come there. Syne with a lytle stay  
 Into that land, drew homeward euary day :  
 In his returne, lyke diligence he shew  
 As in his going there, through realmes anew.

Fra he returnd, then sone without delay  
 I speared at him, ( the certeantie to try )  
 What word of *Phœnix* which was flown away?  
 And if through all the lands he could her spy,  
 Where through he went, I bad him not deny,  
 But tell the trueth, yea whither good or ill  
 Was come of her, to wit it was my will.

He tolde me then, how she flew bak againe,  
 Where fra she came, and als he did receipt,  
 How in *Panchaia* toun, she did remaine  
 On *Phœbus* alter, there for to compleit  
 With *Thus* and *Myrrh*, and other odours sweit  
 Of flowers of dyuers kyndes, and of *Incens*  
 Her nest. With that he left me in suspens.

Till that I charged him no wayes for to spair,  
 Bot presently to tell me out the rest.  
 He tauld me then, How *Titans* garland thair  
 Inflamde be heate, reflexing on her nest,  
 The withered stra, which when she was opprest  
 Heir be yon fowlis, she bure ay whill she came  
 There, fyne aboue her nest she laid the same.

And fyne he tolde, how she had such defyre  
 To burne her self, as she sat downe therein.  
 Syne how the Sunne the withered stra did fyre,  
 Which brunt her nest, her fethers, bones, and skin  
 All turnd in ash. Whose end dois now begin  
 My woes: her death maks lyfe to greif in me.  
 She, whome I rew my eyes did euer see.

O deuills of darknes, contraire vnto light,  
 In *Phœbus* fowle, how could ye get such place,  
 Since ye are hated ay be *Phœbus* bright?  
 For still is sene his light dois darknes chace.  
 But yet ye went into that fowle, whose grace,  
 As *Phœbus* fowle, yet ward the Sunne him fell.  
 Her light his staind, whome in all light dois dwell.

And thou (ô *Phœnix*) why was thow so moued  
 Thow foule of light, be enemies to thee,  
 For to forget thy heauenly hewes, whilkis loued  
 Were baith by men and fowlis that did them see?  
 And syne in hewe of ashe that they fould bee  
 Conuerted all: and that thy goodly shape  
 In *Chaos* fould, and noght the fyre escape?

And thow (ô reuthles *Death*) fould thow deuore  
 Her? who not only passed by all mens mynde  
 All other fowlis in hew, and shape, but more  
 In rarenes (sen there was none of her kynde  
 But she alone) whome with thy stounds thow pynde:  
 And at the last, hath perced her through the hart,  
 But reuth or pitie, with thy mortall dart.

Yet worst of all, she liued not half her age.  
 Why slayde thou *Tyme* at least, which all dois teare  
 To worke with her? O what a cruel rage,  
 To cut her off, before her threid did weare!  
 VVherein all *Planets* keeps their course, that yeare  
 It was not by the half yet worne away,  
 Which fould with her haue ended on a day.

Then fra thir newis, in sorrows foped hail,  
 Had made vs both a while to holde our peace,  
 Then he began and said, Pairt of my tail  
 Is yet vntolde, Lo here one of her race,  
 Ane worm bred of her ashe: Though she, alace,  
 (Said he) be brunt, this lacks but plumes and breath  
 To be lyke her, new gendred by her death.

*L'envoy.*

*Apollo* then, who brunt with thy reflex  
 Thine onely fowle, through loue that thou her bure,  
 Although thy fowle, (whose name doth end in X)  
 Thy burning heate on nowayes could indure,

But brunt thereby: Yet will I the procure,  
 Late foe to *Phœnix*, now her freind to be:  
 Reuiuing her by that which made her die.

Draw farr from heir, mount heigh vp through the air,  
 To gar thy heat and beames be law and neir.  
 That in this countrey, which is colde and bair,  
 Thy gliftring beames als ardent may appeir  
 As they were oft in *Arabie*: so heir  
 Let them be now, to make ane *Phœnix* new  
 Euen of this worme of *Phœnix* ashe which grew.

This if thou dois, as sure I hope thou shall,  
 My tragedie a comike end will haue:  
 Thy work thou hath begun, to end it all.  
 Els made ane worme, to make her out the laue.  
 This Epitaphe, then beis on *Phœnix* graue.

*Here lyeth, vvhome too euen be her death and end  
 Apollo hath a longer lyfe her fend.*

F I N I S.





A P A R A P H R A S T I C A L L  
T R A N S L A T I O N O V T O F  
T H E P O E T E L V C A N E .

L V C A N V S L I B .

Q V I N T O .

**C** *A*Esaris an curfus vestrae sentire putatis  
Damnum posse fugae? Veluti si cuncta minentur  
Flumina, quos miscent pelago, subducere fontes :  
Non magis ablati vnquam decreverit æquor,  
Quam nunc crescit aquis. An vos momenta putatis  
Vlla dedisse mihi ?

If all the floods amongst them wold conclude  
To stay their course from running in the see :  
And by that means wold thinke for to delude  
The *Ocean*, who sould impaired be,  
As they supposde, beleuing if that he  
Did lack their floods, he should decreesse him fell :  
Yet if we like the veritie to wye.  
It pairs him nothing : as I shall you tell.

For out of him they are augmented all,  
 And most part creat, as ye shall persuaue :  
 For when the Sunne doth souk the vapours small  
 Forth of the seas, whilks them containe and haue,  
 A part in winde, in wete and raine the laue  
 He render dois : which doth augment their strands.  
 Of *Neptuns* woll a coate fyne they him weaue,  
 By hurling to him fast out ower the lands.

When all is done, do to him what they can  
 None can persuaue that they do swell him mair.  
 I put the case then that they neuer ran :  
 Yet not theles that could him nowise pair :  
 VVhat needs he then to count it, or to cair,  
 Except their folies wold the more be shawin ?  
 Sen though they stay, it harmes him not a hair,  
 What gain they, thogh they had their course withdrawn ?

So euen siclike : Though subiects do coniure  
 For to rebell against their Prince and King :  
 By leauing him although they hope to smure  
 That grace, wherewith God maks him for to ring,  
 Though by his gifts he shaw him selfe bening,  
 To help their need, and make them thereby gaine :  
 Yet lack of them no harme to him doth bring,  
 VVhen they to rewe their folie shalbe faine.

*L'enuoy.*

Then *Floods* runne on your wouted course of olde,  
 Which God by Nature dewly hes prouyded :  
 For though ye stay, as I before haue tolde,  
 And cast in doubt which God hath els decyded :  
 To be conioynde, by you to be deuyded :  
 To kythe your spite, and do the *Depe*. no skaith :  
 Farre better were in others ilk confyded,  
 Ye *Floods*, thou *Depe*, whilks were your dewties baith.

A N E S C H O R T  
T R E A T I S E,  
C O N T E I N I N G S O M E R E V L I S  
and cautelis to be obseruit and  
eschewit in Scottis  
*Poesie.*



A Q V A D R A I N O F A L E X A N D R I N  
V E R S E , D E C L A R I N G T O Q V H O M E T H E  
*Authour hes directit his labour.*

*To ignorants obdurde, quhair vvilful errour lvis,  
Nor zit to curious folks, quhilks carping dois deiecl thee,  
Nor zit to learned men, quha thinks thame onelie vvyis,  
Bot to the docile bairns of knavvledge I direct thee.*

THE PREFACE TO  
*the Reader.*



THE cause why (docile Reader) I haue not dedicat this short treatise to any particular personis, (as commounly workis vsis to be) is, that I esteeme all thais quha hes already some beginning of knowledge, with ane earnest desyre to atteyne to farther, alyke meit for the reading of this worke, or any vther, quhilk may help thame to the atteining to thair foirsaid desyre. Bot as to this work, quhilk is intitult, *The Reulis and cautelis to be obseruit and eschevrit in Scottis Poesie*, ze may maruell paraventure, quhairfore I fould haue writtin in that mater, sen fa mony learnit men, baith of auld and of late hes already written thair of in dyuers and findry languages: I answer, That nocht-withstanding, I haue lykewayis writtin of it, for twa cauffis: The ane is, As for them that wrait of auld, lyke as the tyme is changeit fenfyne, sa is the ordour of Poesie changeit. For then they obseruit not *Flowving*, nor eschewit not *Ryming in termes*, besydes findrie vther thingis, quhilk now we obserue, and eschew, and dois weil in sa doing: because that now, quhen the world is waxit auld, we haue all their opinionis in writ, quhilk were learned before our tyme, besydes our awin ingynis, quhair as they then did it onelie be thair awin ingynis, but help of any vther. Thairfore, quhat I speik of Poesie now, I speik of it, as being come to mannis age and perfectioun, quhair as then, it was bot in the infancie and chyldeheid. The vther cause is, That as for thame that hes written in it of late, there hes neuer ane of thame written in our language. For albeit findrie hes written of it in English, quhilk is lykest to our language, zit we differ from thame in findrie reulis of Poesie, as ze will find be experience. I haue lykewayis omittit dyuers figures, quhilkis are necessare to be vsit in verse, for two cauffis. The ane is, because they are vsit in all languages, and thairfore are spokin of be *Du Bellay*, and findrie vtheris, quha hes written



in this airt. Quhairfore gif I wrait of them also, it fould seme that I did bot repete that, quhilk they haue written, and zit not sa weil, as they haue done already. The vther caufe is, that they are figures of Rhetorique and Dialectique, quhilkis airtis I professe nocht, and thairfore will apply to my selfe the counsale, quhilk *Apelles* gaue to the shoemaker, quhen he said to him, seing him find falt with the shankis of the Image of *Venus*, efter that he had found falt with the pantoun, *Ne futor ultra crepidam.*

I will also wish zow (docile Reidar) that or ze cummer zow with reiding thir reulis, ze may find in zour self sic a beginning of Nature, as ze may put in practife in zour verse many of thir foirsaidis preceptis, or euer ze sie them as they are heir set down. For gif Nature be nocht the cheif worker in this airt, Reulis wilbe bot a band to Nature, and will mak zow within short space weary of the haill airt: quhair as, gif Nature be cheif, and bent to it, reulis will be ane help and staff to Nature. I will end heir, lest my preface be langer nor my purpose and haill mater following: wishing zow, docile Reidar, als gude succes and great proffeit by reiding this short treatise, as I tuke earnest and willing panis to blok it, as ze sie, for zour cause. Fare weill.

I Haue insert in the hinder end of this Treatise, maist kyndis of versis quhilks are not cuttit or brokin, bot alyke many seit in euerie lyne of the verse, and how they are commounly namit, with my opinioun for quhat subiectis ilk kynde of thir verse is meitest to be vsit.

TO know the quantitie of zour lang or short fete in they lynes, quhilk I haue put in the reule, quhilk teachis zow to know quhat is *Flouving*, I haue markit the lang fute with this mark,— and  
 abone the heid of the shorte fute, I  
 haue put this mark ∪ .

\* \*

\*

SONNET OF THE AVTHOVR  
TO THE READER.

**S**En for zour saik I vvryste upon zour airt,  
 Apollo, Pan, and ze ô Musis nyne,  
 And thou, ô Mercure, for to help thy pairt  
 I do implore, sen thou be thy ingyne,  
 Nixt efter Pan had found the quhiffill, syne  
 Thou did persyfte, that quhilk he bot espyit:  
 And efter that made Argus for to tyne  
 (quha kepit Io) all his vvindois by it.  
 Concurrre ze Gods, it can not be denyit:  
 Sen in your airt of Pöësie I vvryste.  
 Auld birds to learne by teiching it is tryit:  
 Sic docens discans gif ze help to dyte.  
 Then Reidar sie of nature thou haue pairt,  
 Syne laikis thou nocht, bot heir to reid the airt.

SONNET DECIFRING  
THE PERFYTE POETE.

**A**Ne rype ingyne, ane quick and vvalkned vvitt,  
 VVith sommair reasons, suddennlie applyit,  
 For euery purpose vsing reasons fitt,  
 VVith skilfulnes, vvhare learning may be spyit,  
 With pithie vvordis, for to expres zovv by it  
 His full intention in his proper leid,  
 The puritie quhairof, vveill hes he tryit:  
 With memorie to keip quhat he dois reid,  
 With skilfulnes and figuris, quhilks proceid  
 From Rhetorique, vvith euerlasting fame,  
 With vthers vvoundring, preassing vvith all speid  
 For to atteine to merite sic a name.  
 All thir into the persyfte Poëte be.  
 Goddis, grant I may obtaine the Laurell trie.

THE REVLIS AND CAV-  
TELIS TO BE OBSERVIT  
and eschewit in Scottis

*Poesie.*

CAP. I



FIRST, ze fall keip iust cullouris, quhairof the cautelis are thir.

That ze ryme nocht twyfe in ane syllabe. As for exemple, that ze make not *proue* and *reproue* ryme together, nor *houe* for houeing on hors bak, and *behoue*.

That ze ryme ay to the hinneft lang syllabe, (with accent) in the lyne, suppose it be not the hinneft syllabe in the lyne, as *bakbyte zovv*, and *out flyte zovv*, It rymes in *byte* and *flyte*, because of the lenth of the syllabe, and accent being there, and not in *zovv*, howbeit it be the hinneft syllabe of ather of the lynis. Or *question* and *digestion*, It rymes in *ques* and *ges*, albeit they be bot the antepenult syllabis, and vther twa behind ilkane of thame.

Ze aucht alwayis to note, That as in thir foirfaidis, or the lyke wordis, it rymes in the hinneft lang syllabe in the lyne, althoucht there be vther short syllabis behind it, Sa is the hinneft lang syllabe the hinneft fute, suppose there be vther short syllabis behind it, quhilkis are eatin vp in the pronounceing, and na wayis comptit as fete.

Ze man be war likewayis (except necesitie compell yow) with *Ryming in Termis*, quhilk is to say, that your first or hinneft word in the lyne, exceid not twa or thre syllabis at the maist, vsing thrie als feindill as ye can. The cause quhairfore ze fall not place a lang word first in the lyne, is, that all lang words hes ane

syllabe in them fa verie lang, as the lenth thairof eatis vp in the pronouncing euin the vther syllabes, quhilks ar placit lang in the same word, and thairfore spillis the flowing of that lyne. As for exemple, in this word, *Arabia*, the second syllable(*ra*) is fa lang, that it eatis vp in the pronouncing [*a*] quhilk is the hinneft syllabe of the same word. Quhilk [*a*] althocht it be in a lang place, zit it kythis not fa, because of the great lenth of the preceding syllabe (*ra*). As to the cause quhy ze fall not put a lang word hinneft in the lyne, It is, because, that the lenth of the secound syllabe (*ra*) eating vp the lenth of the vther lang syllabe, [*a*] makis it to ferue bot as a taylor vnto it, together with the short syllabe preceding. And because this taylor nather feruis for cullour nor fute, as I spak before, it man be thairfore repetit in the nixt lyne ryming vnto it, as it is set doune in the first: quhilk makis, that ze will scarcely get many wordis to ryme vnto it, zea, nane at all will ze finde to ryme to findrie vther langer wordis. Thairfore cheifly be warre of inferting sic lang wordis hinneft in the lyne, for the cause quhilk I last allegit. Befydis that nather first nor last in the lyne, it keipis na *Flowving*. The reulis and cautelis quhairof are thir, as followis.

## CHAP. II.



FIRST, ze man vnderstand that all syllabis are deuydit in thrie kindes: That is, some schort, some lang, and some indifferent. Be indifferent I meane, they quhilk ere ather lang or short, according as ze place thame.

The forme of placeing syllabes in verse, is this. That zour first syllabe in the lyne be short, the second lang, the thrid short, the fourt lang, the fyf short, the sixt lang, and sa furth to the end of the lyne. Always tak heid, that the number of zour fete

in euery lyne be euin, and nocht odde : as four, fix, aucht, or ten : and not thrie, fyue, feuin, or nyne, except it be in broken verfe, quhilkis are out of reul and daylie inuentit be dyuers Poetis. Bot gif ze wald ask me the reulis, quhairby to know euerie ane of thir thre foirfaidis kyndis of fyllabes, I anfwer, Zour eare man be the onely iudge and discerner thairof. And to proue this, I remit to the iudgement of the fame, quhilk of thir twa lynis following flowis best,

u — u — u — u — u —  
*Into the Sea then Lucifer vpsprang.*

u — u — u — u — u —  
*In the Sea then Lucifer to vsprang.*

I doubt not bot zour eare makkis zou easilie to perfaue, that the first lyne flowis weil, and the vther nathing at all. The reafoun is, because the first lyne keips the reule abone written, to wit, the first fute fhort, the fecound lang, and fa furth, as I shewe before : quhair as the vther is direct contrair to the same. Bot specially tak heid, quhen zour lyne is of fourtene, that zour *Seclioun* in aucht be a lang monofyllabe, or ellis the hinneft fyllabe of a word alwais being lang, as I said before. The cause quhy it man be ane of thir twa, is, for the Musique, because that quhen zour lyne is ather of xiiij or xij fete, it wilbe drawin sa lang in the finging, as ze man rest in the middes of it, quhilk is the *Seclioun* : sa as, gif zour *Seclioun* be nocht ather a monofyllabe, or ellis the hinneft fyllabe of a word, as I said before, bot the first fyllabe of a polyfyllabe, the Musique fall make zow sa to rest in the middes of that word, as it fall cut the ane half of the word fra the vther, and sa fall mak it seme twa different wordis, that is bot ane. This aucht onely to be obseruit in thir foirfaid lang lynis : for the fhortnes of all shorter lynis, then thir before mentionat, is the cause, that the Musique makis na rest in the middes of thame, and thairfore thir obseruationis

feruis nocht for thame. Onely tak heid, that the *Seclioun* in thame kythe something langer nor any vther feit in that lyne, except the secound and the last, as I haue said before.

Ze man tak heid lykewayis, that zour langest lynis exceid nocte fourtene fete, and that zour shortest be nocht within foure.

Remember also to mak a *Seclioun* in the middes of euery lyne, quether the lyne be lang or short. Be *Seclioun* I mean, that gif zour lyne be of fourtene fete, zour aucht fute, man not only be langer then the feint, or vther short fete, but also langer nor any vther lang fete in the same lyne, except the secound and the hinneft. Or gif your lyne be of twelf fete, zour *Seclioun* to be in the sext. Or gif of ten, zour *Seclioun* to be in the sext also. The cause quhy it is not in fyue, is, because fyue is odde, and euerie odde fute is short. Or gif your lyne be of aucht fete, zour *Seclioun* to be in the fourt. Gif of sex, in the fourt also. Gif of four, zour *Seclioun* to be in twa.

Ze aucht likewise be war with oft composing zour haill lynis of monosyllabis onely, (albeit our language haue sa many, as we can nocht weill eschewe it) because the maist pairt of thame are indifferent, and may be in short or lang place, as ze like. Some wordis of dyuers syllabis are likewise indifferent, as

*Thairfore, restore.*

*I thairfore, then.*

In the first, *thairfore*, (*thair*) is short, and (*fore*) is lang: In the vther, (*thair*) is lang, and (*fore*) is short, and zit baith flowis alike weill. Bot thir indifferent wordis, composit of dyuers syllabes, are rare, suppose in monosyllabes, commoun. The cause then, quhy ane haill lyne aucht nocht to be composit of monosyllabes only, is, that they being for the maist pairt indifferent, nather the secound, hinneft, nor *Seclioun*, will be langer nor the other lang fete in the same lyne.

Thairfore ze man place a word composit of dyuers syllabes, and not indifferent, ather in the secound, hinneft, or *Section*, or in all thrie.

Ze man also tak heid, that quhen thare fallis any short syllabis efter the last lang syllabe in the lyne, that ze repeat thame in the lyne quhilk rymis to the vther, even as ze fet them downe in the first lyne: as for exempill, ze man not fay

*Then feir nocht  
Nor heir ocht.*

Bot

*Then feir nocht  
Nor heir nocht.*

Repeting the same, *nocht*, in baith the lynis: because this syllabe, *nocht*; nather seruing for cullour nor fute, is bot a taylor to the lang fute preceding, and thairfore is repetit lykewayis in the nixt lyne, quhilk rymes vnto it, euin as it fet down in the first.

There is also a kynde of indifferent wordis, asweill as of syllabis, albeit few in nomber. The nature quhair-of is, that gif ze place thame in the begynning of a lyne, they are shorter be a fute, nor they are, gif ze place thame hinneft in the lyne, as

*Sen patience I man haue perforce.  
I liue in hope vvith patience.*

Ze se there are bot aucht fete in ather of baith thir lynis aboue written. The cause quhair-of is, that *patience*, in the first lyne, in respect it is in the beginning thair-of, is bot of twa fete, and in the last lyne, of thrie, in respect it is the hinneft word of that lyne. To knaw and discerne thir kynde of wordis from vtheris, zour eare man be the onely iudge, as of all the vther parts of *Flowving*, the verie twicheftane quhair-of is Musique.

I haue teachit zow now shortly the reulis of *Ryming*,

*Fete*, and *Flowving*. There restis yet to teache zow the wordis, sentences, and phrasis necessair for a Poete to vse in his verse, quhilk I haue fet doun in reulis, as efter followis.

### CHAP. III.



First, that in quhatfumeuer ze put in verse, ze put in na wordis, ather *metri causa*, or zit, for filling furth the number of the fete, bot that they be all sa necessaire, as ze sould be constrainit to vse thame, in cace ze were speiking the same purpose in prose. And thairfore that zour wordis appere to haue cum out willingly, and by nature, and not to haue bene throwin out constrainedly, be compulsioun.

That ze eschew to insert in zour verse, a lang rable of mennis names, or names of tounis, or sik vther names. Because it is hard to mak many lang names all placit together, to flow weill. Thairfore quhen that fallis out in zour purpose, ze fall ather put bot twa or thrie of thame in euerie lyne, mixing vther wordis amang thame, or ellis specifie bot twa or thre of them at all, saying (*With the laif of that race*) or (*With the rest in thay pairtis*), or sic vther lyke wordis: as for example,

*Out through his cairt, quhair Eous vvas eik  
VVith other thre, quhilk Phaëton had drawin.*

Ze sie thair is bot ane name there specifit, to serue for vther thrie of that forte.

Ze man also take heid to frame zour wordis and sentencis according to the mater: As in Flyting and Inuectiues, zour wordis to be cuttit short, and hurland ouer heuch. For thais quhilkis are cuttit short, I meane be sic wordis as thir,



*Iis neir cair,*

for

*I fall neuer cair,* gif zour subiect were of loue, or tragedies. Because in thame zour words man be drawin lang, quhilkis in Flyting man be short.

Ze man lykewayis tak heid, the ze wail zour wordis according to the purpose : As, in ane heich and learnt purpose, to vse heich, pithie, and learnt wordis.

Gif zour purpose be of loue, To vse commoun language, with some passionate wordis.

Gif zour purpose be of tragicall materis, To vse lamentable wordis, with some heich, as rauishit in admiratioun.

Gif zour purpose be of landwart effairis, To vse corruptit and vplandis wordis.

And finally, quhatsumeuer be zour subiect, to vse *vocabula artis*, quhairby ze may the mair viuelie represent that persoun, quhais pairt ze paint out.

This is likewayis neidfull to be vsit in sentences, als weill as in wordis. As gif zour subiect be heich and learnt, to vse learnt and infallible reasonis, prouin be necessities.

Gif zour subiect be of loue, To vse wilfull reasonis, proceding rather from passioun, nor reasoun.

Gif zour subiect be of landwart effairis, To vse sklender reasonis, mixt with grosse ignorance, nather keiping forme nor ordour. And sa furth, euer framing zour reasonis, according to the qualitie of zour subiect.

Let all zour verse be *Literall*, sa far as may be, quhatsumeuer kynde they be of, bot speciallie *Tumbling* verse for flyting. Be *Literall* I meane, that the maist pairt of zour lyne, fall rynne vpon a letter, as this tumbling lyne rynnys vpon F.

*Fetching fude for to seid it fast furth of the Farie.*

Ze man obserue that thir *Tumbling* verse flowis not on that fassoun, as vtheris dois. For all vtheris keipis the reule quhilk I gaue before, To wit, the first fute short the secound lang, and sa furth. Quhair as thir

hes twa short, and ane lang throuch all the lyne, quhen they keip ordour : albeit the maist pairt of thame be out of ordour, and keipis na kynde nor reule of *Flowving*, and for that cause are callit *Tumbling* verse : except the short lynis of aucht in the hinder end of the verse, the quhilk flowis as vther verses dois, as ze will find in the hinder end of this buke, quhair I gaue exemple of findrie kyndis of versis.

### CHAP. IIII.



MARK also thrie speciall ornamentis to verse, quhilkis are, *Comparisons*, *Epithetis*, and *Prouerbis*.

As for *Comparisons*, take heid that they be sa proper for the subiect, that nather they be ouer bas, gif zour subiect be heich, for then fould zour subiect [*Comparisoun*?] disgrace zour *Comparisoun* [subiect?], nather zour *Comparisoun* be heich quhen zour subiect is basse, for then fall zour *Comparisoun* [subiect?] disgrace your subiect [*Comparisoun*?]. Bot let sic a mutuall correspondance and similitude be betwix them, as it may appeare to be a meit *Comparisoun* for sic a subiect, and sa fall they ilkane decore vther.

As for *Epithetis*, It is to descryue brieflie, *en passant*, the naturall of euerie thing ze speik of, be adding the proper adiectiue vnto it, quhair of there are twa fassons. The ane is, to descryue it, be making, a corruptit worde, composit of twa dyuers simple wordis, as

*Apollo gyde-Sunne*

The vther fasson, is, be *Circumlocution*, as

*Apollo reular of the Sunne.*

I esteeme this last fassoun best, Because it expressis the authoris meaning als weill as the vther, and zit makis na corruptit wordis, as the vther dois.

As for the *Prouerbis*, they man be proper for the subiect, to beautifie it, chofen in the same forme as the *Comparisoun*.

## CHAP V.



**T**is also meit, for the better decoratioun of the verse to vse sumtyme the figure of Repetitioun, as

*Quhylis ioy rang,*  
*Quhylis noy rang. &c.*

Ze sie this word *quhylis* is repetit heir. This forme of repetitioun sometyme vsit, decoris the verse very mekle. zea quhen it cummis to purpose, it will be cumly to repete sic a word aucht or nyne tymes in a verse.

## CHAP. VI.

**Z**E man also be warre with composing ony thing in the same maner, as hes bene ower oft vsit of before. As in speciall, gif ze speik of loue, be warre ze descryue zour *Loues* makdome, or her fairnes. And siclyke that ze descryue not the morning, and ryfing of the Sunne, in the Preface of zour verse: for thir thingis are sa oft and dyuerslie writtin vpon be Poëtis already, that gif ze do the lyke, it will appeare, ze bot imitate, and that it cummis not of zour awin *Inuentioun*, quhilk is ane of the cheif properteis of ane Poete. Thairfore gif zour subiect be to prayse zour *Loue*, ze fall rather prayse hir vther qualiteis, nor her fairnes, or hir shaip: or ellis ze fall speik some lytill thing of it, and syne say, that zour wittis are sa smal, and zour vtterance sa barren, that ze can not discryue any part of hir worthelie: remitting alwayis to the Reider, to iudge of hir, in respect sho matches, or rather excellis *Venus*, or any woman, quhome to it fall please zow to compaire her. Bot gif zour subiect be sic, as ze man speik some thing of the morning, or Sunne ryfing, tak heid, that quhat name ze giue to the Sunne, the Mone, or vther starris, the ane tyme, gif ze happin to wryte

thair of another tyme, to change thair names. As gif ze call the Sunne *Titan*, at a tyme, to call him *Phæbus* or *Apollo* the vther tyme, and ficlyke the Mone, and vther Planetis.

### CHAP. VII.

**B**OT fen *Inuention*, is ane of the cheif vertewis in a Poete, it is best that ze inuent zour awin subiect, zour self, and not to compose of sene subiectis. Especially, translating any thing out of vther language, quhilk doing, ze not onely essay not zour awin ingyne of *Inuention*, bot be the same meanes, ze are bound, as to a staik, to follow that buikis phrasis, quhilk ze translate.

Ze man also be war of wryting any thing of materis of commoun weill, or vther sic graue sene subiectis (except Metaphorically, of manifest treuth opinly knawin, zit nochtwithstanding vsing it very seindil) because nocht onely ze essay nocht zour awin *Inuention*, as I spak before, bot lykewayis they are to graue materis, for a Poet to mell in. Bot because ze can not haue the *Inuention*, except it come of Nature, I remit it thairvnto, as the cheif cause, not onely of *Inuention*, bot also of all the vther pairtis of Poesie. For airt is onely bot ane help and a remembraunce to Nature, as I shewe zow in the Preface.

### CHAP. VIII. tuiching the kyndis of versis, mentionat in the Preface.

**F**IRST, there is ryme quhilk feruis onely for lang historeis, and zit are nocht verse As for exemple,



*In Maii vvhen that the bliffesfull Phæbus bricht,  
The lamp of ioy, the heauens gemme of licht,  
The goldin cairt, and the etheriall King,  
With purpoure face in Orient dois spring,  
Maist angel-lyke ascending in his sphere,  
And birds vvith all thair heauenlie voces cleare*

*Dois mak a fveit and heavinly harmony,  
And fragrant flours dois spring vp lustely:  
Into this feason fveiteft of delyte,  
To vwalk I had a lusty appetyte.*

And fa furth.

¶ For the descriptioun of Heroique actis, Martiall and knightly faittis of armes, vse this kynde of verfe following, callit *Heroicall*, As

*Meik mundane mirroure, myrrie and modest,  
Blyth, kynde, and courtes, comelie, clene, and cheft,  
To all exemple for thy honestie,  
As richest rose, or rubie, by the rest,  
VVith gracie graue, and gesture maist digest,  
Ay to thy honnour alwayis hauing eye.  
Were fassons ftiemde, they nicht be found in the:  
Of blifings all, be blyth, thovv hes the best,  
With euerie berne belouit for to be.*

¶ For any heich and graue subiectis, specially drawin out of learnit authouris, vse this kynde of verfe following, callit *Ballat Royal*, as

*That nicht he ceist, and vvent to bed, bot greind  
Zit fast for day, and thocht the nicht to lang:  
At last Diana doun her head redeind,  
Into the sea. Then Lucifer vpsprang,  
Auroras post, vvhome sho did fend amang  
The Ieittie cludds, for to foretell ane hour,  
Before sho stay her tears, quhilk Ouide sang  
Fell for her loue, quhilk turnit in a flour.*

¶ For tragicall materis, complaintis, or testamentis, vse this kynde of verfe following, callit *Troilus* verfe, as

*To thee Echo, and thovv to me agane,  
In the desert, amangs the vvods and vvells,  
Quhair destinie hes bound the to remane,  
But company, vvithin the firths and fells,  
Let vs complein, vvith vvofull zoutts and zells,*

*A shaft, a shotter, that our harts hes flane :  
To thee Echo, and thovv to me agane.*

¶ For flyting, or Inuectiues, vse this kynde of verse following, callit *Rouncefallis*, or *Tumbling* verse.

*In the hinder end of haruest vpon Alhallowe ene,  
Quhen our gude nichtbors rydis (nou gif I reid richt)  
Some bucklit on a bevvod, and some on a bene,  
Ay trott and into troupes fra the tvoylicht :  
Some sadland a sho ape, all grathed into grene :  
Some hotche and on a hemp stalk, hovand on a heicht.  
The king of Fary vvith the Court of the Elf quene,  
VVith many elrage Incubus rydand that nicht :*

*There ane elf on ane ape ane vnsell begat :  
Befyde a pot baith auld and vvorne,  
This bratshard in ane bus vvas borne :  
They fand a monster on the morne,  
VVar facit nor a Cat.*

¶ For compendious praying of any bukes, or the authouris thairof, or ony argumentis of vther historeis, quhair fundrie sentences, and change of purposis are requyrit, vse *Sonet* verse, of fourtene lynis, and ten fete in euey lyne. The exemple quhairof, I neid nocht to shaw zow, in respect I haue set doun twa in the beginning of this treatise.

¶ In materis of loue, vse this kynde of verse, quhilk we call *Commoun* verse, as

*Quhais ansvver made thame nocht sa glaid  
That they fould thus the victors be,  
As euen the ansvver quhilk I haid  
Did greatly ioy aud confort me :  
Quhen lo, this spak Apollo myne,  
All that thou seikis, it fall be thyne.*

¶ Lyke verse of ten fete, as this foirfaid is of aucht, ze may vse lykewayis in loue materis : as also all kyndis of cuttit and brokin verse, quhairof new formes are daylie inuentit according to the Poëtes pleasour, as

*Quha vvald haue tyrde to heir that tone,*  
*Quhilk birds corroborat ay abone*  
*Through schouting of the Larkis?*  
*They sprang fa heich into the skyes*  
*Quhill Cupide vwalknis vwith the crys*  
*Of Naturis chapell Clarkis.*  
*Then leauing all the Heauins aboue*  
*He lichtet on the eard.*  
*Lo! hovv that lytill God of loue.*  
*Before me then appeard,*  
*So myld-lyke* *VVith hovv thre quarters skant*  
*And chyld-lyke*  
*So moylie* *He lukit lyke a Sant.*  
*And coylie*  
 And fa furth.

¶ This onely kynde of brokin verse abonewrittin, man of necessitie, in thir last short fete, as *fo moylie and coylie*, haue bot twa fete and a tayle to ilkane of thame, as ze sie, to gar the cullour and ryme be in the penult syllabe.

¶ And of thir foirfaidis kyndes of ballatis of haill verse, and not cuttit or brokin as this last is, gif ze lyke to put ane owerword till ony of thame, as making the last lyne of the first verse, to be the last lyne of euerie vther verse in that ballat, will fet weill for loue materis. Bot besydis thir kyndes of brokin or cuttit verse, quhilks ar inuentit daylie be Poetis, as I shewe before, there are findrie kyndes of haill verse, with all thair lynis alyke lang, quhilk I haue heir omittit, and tane bot onelie thir few kyndes abone specifseit as the best, quhilk may be applyit to ony kynde of subiect,  
 bot rather to thir, quhairof  
 I haue spokin before.

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THE CIIII. PSALME,  
TRANSLATED OVT OF  
TREMELLIVS.

PSALME CIIII.

**O** Lord inspyre my spreit and pen, to praise  
Thy Name, whose greatnes farr surpassis all :  
That syne, I may thy gloir and honour blaife,  
Which cleithis the ouer : about the lyke a wall  
The light remainis. O thow, whose charge and call  
Made Heauens lyke courtenis for to spred abreid,  
Who bowed the waters so, as serue they shall  
For cristall fylling ouer thy house to gleid.

Who walks vpon the wings of restles winde,  
Who of the clouds his chariot made, euen he,  
Who in his presence still the spreits doeth find,  
Ay ready to fulfill ilk iust decrē  
Of his, whose seruants fyre and flammis they be.  
Who set the earth on her fundacions sure,  
So as her brangling none shall euer see :  
Who at thy charge the deip vpon her bure.

So, as the very tops of mountains hie  
Be fluidis were onis ouerflowed at thy command,  
Ay whill thy thundring voice sone made them flie  
Ower hiddeous hills and howes, till nocht but sand  
Was left behind, syne with thy mightie hand  
Thow limits made vnto the roring deip.  
So shall she neuer droun againe the land,  
But brek her wawes on rockis, her mairch to keip.

Thir are thy workis, who maid the strands to breid,  
Syne rinn among the hills from fountains cleir,



Whairto wyld Affes oft dois rinn with speid,  
 With vther beafts to drinke. Hard by we heir  
 The chirping birds among the leaues, with beir  
 To fing, whil all the rocks about rebounde.  
 A woundrous worke, that thow, ô Father deir,  
 Maks throatts fo small yeild furth fo greate a founde !

O thow who from thy palace oft letts fall  
 (For to refresh the hills) thy blessed raine :  
 Who with thy works mainteins the earth and all :  
 Who maks to grow the herbs and grafs to gaine.  
 The herbs for foode to man, grafs dois remaine  
 For food to horfe, and cattell of all kynde.  
 Thow caufest them not pull at it in vaine,  
 But be thair foode. fuch is thy will and mynde.

Who dois reioyfe the hart of man with wyne,  
 And who with oyle his face maks cleir and bright,  
 And who with foode his stomack strengthnes fyne,  
 Who nurifhes the very treis aright.  
 The *Cedars* evin of *Liban* tall and wight  
 He planted hath, where birds do bigg their nest.  
 He maid the *Firr* treis of a woundrous hight,  
 Where *Storks* dois mak thair dwelling place, and rest.

Thow made the barren hills, wylde goats refuge.  
 Thow maid the rocks, a residence and rest  
 For *Alpin* ratts, where they doe liue and ludge.  
 Thow maid the *Moone*, her course, as thou thought best.  
 Thow maid the *Sunne* in tyme go to, that lest  
 He still fould shyne, then night fould neuer come.  
 But thow in ordour all things hes fo drest,  
 Some beafts for day, for night are also some.

For Lyons young at night beginnis to raire,  
 And from their denns to craue of God some pray :  
 Then in the morning, gone is all their caire,  
 And homeward to their caues rinnis fast, fra day  
 Beginne to kythe, the Sunne dois fo them fray.

Then man gois furth, fra tyme the Sunne dois ryfe.  
 And whill the euening he remanis away  
 At lefume labour, where his liuing lyes.

How large and mightie are thy workis, ô Lord !  
 And with what wifedome are they wrought, but faile.  
 The earths great fulnes, of thy gifts recorde  
 Dois beare : Heirot of the Seas (which dyuers skaile  
 Of fish contenis) dois witnes beare : Ilk faile  
 Of dyuers ships vpon the fwolling waves  
 Dois testifie, as dois the monstros whaile,  
 Who frayis all fishes with his ravening Iawes.

All thir (ô Lord) yea all this woundrous heape  
 Of liuing things, in seafon craues their fill  
 Of foode from thee. Thow giuing, Lord, they reape :  
 Thy open hand with gude things fills them still  
 When so thow list : but contrar, when thow will  
 Withdraw thy face, then are they troubled fair,  
 Their breath by thee receavd, sone dois them kill :  
 Syne they returne into their ashes bair.

But notwithstanding, Father deare, in cace  
 Thow breath on them againe, then they reviué.  
 In fhort, thow dois, ô Lord, renewe the face  
 Of all the earth, and all that in it liue.  
 Therefore immortall praise to him we giue :  
 Let him reioyse into his works he maid,  
 Whose looke and touche, so hills and earth dois greiue,  
 As earth dois tremble, mountains reikis, afraid.

To *Iehoua* I all my lyfe shall sing,  
 To found his Name I euer still shall cair :  
 It shall be sweit my thinking on that King :  
 In him I shall be glaid for euer mair :  
 O let the wicked be into no whair  
 In earth. O let the finfull be destroyde.  
 Blesse him my soule who name *Iehoua* bair :  
 O blesse him now with notts that are enioyde.  
*Hallelu-iah.*



ANE SCHORT POEME  
OF TYME.

\* \* \*  
\*

**A**S I was panfing in a morning, aire,  
And could not fleip, nor nawayis take me rest,  
Furth for to walk, the morning was fa faire,  
Athort the feilds, it femed to me the best.  
The *East* was cleare, whereby belyue I gest  
That fyrie *Titan* cumming was in fight,  
Obscuring chafst *Diana* by his light.

VVho by his ryfing in the *Azure* skyes,  
Did dewlie helse all thame on earth do dwell.  
The balmie dew through birning drouth he dryis,  
VVhich made the foile to fauour sweit and smell,  
By dewe that on the night before downe fell,  
VVhich then was foukit by the *Delphienns* heit  
Vp in the aire: it was fo light and weit.

Whose hie ascending in his purpoure Sphere  
Prouoked all from *Morpheus* to flee:  
As beafts to feid, and birds to fing with beir,  
Men to their labour, biffie as the Bee:  
Yet ydle men deuysing did I see.  
How for to dryue the tyme that did them irk,  
By findrie pastvmes, quhill that it grew mirk.

Then woundred I to fee them feik a wyle,  
 So willinglie the precious tyme to tyne :  
 And how they did them felfis fo farr begyle,  
 To fashe of tyme, which of it felfe is fyne.  
 Fra tyme be past, to call it bakwart syne  
 Is bot in vaine : therefore men fould be warr,  
 To fleuth the tyme that flees fra them fo farr.

For what hath man bot tyme into this lyfe,  
 Which giues him dayis his God aright to know :  
 Wherefore then fould we be at fic a ftryfe,  
 So spedelie our felfis for to withdraw  
 Euin from the tyme, which is on nowayes flaw  
 To flie from vs, fuppose we fled it nocht ?  
 More wyfe we were, if we the tyme had focht.

Bot fen that tyme is fic a precious thing,  
 I wald we fould bestow it into that  
 Which were most pleafour to our heauenly King.  
 Flee ydilteth, which is the greateft lat.  
 Bot fen that death to all is destinat,  
 Let vs imploy that time that God hath fend vs,  
 In doing weill, that good men may commend vs.

*Hæc quoque perficiat, quod perficit omnia, Tempus.*

*FINIS.*

A TABLE OF SOME OBSCVRE  
WORDIS WITH THEIR SIG-  
*nifications, efter the ordour of*  
the Alphabet.

\* \*  
\*

VVordis

Significations

<i>Ammon</i>	Iupiter Ammon.
<i>Ande</i> <i>Virgill</i> was borne.	A village beyde <i>Mantua</i> where
<i>Alexandria</i>	A famous citie in <i>Egypt</i> , where was the notable librarie gathered by <i>Ptolomeus Phila-</i> <i>delphus</i> .

B

<i>Bethaniens</i> fecond liuing	<i>Lazarus</i> of <i>Bethania</i> , who was reuiued be Christ, reid <i>Iohn</i> 11 Chap.
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C

<i>Castalia</i> <i>Parnassus</i> .	A well at the fute of the hill
<i>Celæno</i>	The cheif of the <i>Harpyes</i> , a kynde of monsters with wingis and womens faces, whome the Poets feynzeis to represent theuis.
<i>Cerberus</i>	The thrie headed porter of hell.
<i>Cimmerien</i> night	Drevin from a kynd of people in the East, called <i>Cimmerij</i> , who are great theuis, and dwellis in dark caues, and therefore, sleeping in finne, is called <i>Cimmerien</i> night.
<i>Circuler daunce</i>	The round motionis of the Pla- nets, and of their heauens, applyed to seuin findrie metallis.
<i>Clio</i>	One of the <i>Muses</i> .
<i>Cypris</i> tearming <i>continens pro contento</i> .	The dwelling place of <i>Venus</i> ,
<i>Cyprian torche</i>	Lovis darte.

## D

- Delphien Songs* Poemes, and verses, drawn from the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*.
- Diræ* Thre furies of hell, *Alecto*, *Megera*, and *Tesiphone*.
- Dodon* A citie of the kingdome of *Epirus*, beydes the which, there was a wood and a Temple therein, consecrated to *Iupiter*.

## E

- Electre* A metal, fowre parts gold and fift part siluer.
- Elise field* In Latin *Campi Elisij*, a ioy full place in hell, where as the Poets feinzeis all the happie spreits do remaine.
- Esculape* A mediciner, after made a god.

## G

- Greatest thunders* *Iupiter* (as the Poets feinzeis) had two thunders, whereof he sent the greatest vpon the Gyants, who contemned him.

## H

- Hermes* An AEgyptian *Philosopher* soone after the tyme of *Moyfes*, confessed in his Dialogues one onely God to be Creator of all things, and graunted the errours of his forefathers, who brought in the superstitious worshipping of Idoles.
- Hippolyte* After his members were drawin in funder by fowre horses, *Esculapius* at *Neptuns* request, glewed them together, and reuiued him.

## M

- Mausole tombe* One of the feauin miracles which *Artemise* caused to be builded for her husband by *Timotheus*, *Briace*, *Scope*, and fundrie other workmen.

*Mein* A riuer in *Almanie*.

*Sein* A riuer in *Fraunce*.

The Authors meaning of these two riuers is, that the originall of the *Almanis* came first out of *Fraunce*, contrarie to the vulgar opinion.

## N

*Nynevoiced mouth* The nyne *Muses*, whereof *Vranie* was one.

## P

*Panchaia* A towne in the East, wherein, it is written, the *Phenix* burnis her selfe vpon *Apollo*s altar.

*Pinde* or *Pindus* A hill consecrate to *Apollo*, and the *Muses*.

*Phæmonoe* A woman who pronounced the Oracles of *Apollo*.

## S

*Seamans starres* The seauen starres.

*Semele* Mother of *Bacchus*, who being deceiued by *Iuno*, made *Iupiter* come to her in his least thunder, which neuertheles confumde her.

*Syrenes* Taken heir for littill gray birdes of *Canaria*.

## T

*Thais* A common harlot of *Alexandria*.

*Triton* A monster in the sea, shapen like a man.

*Turnus* sifter Named *Iuturna*, a goddese of the water, who in the shape of her brothers waggoner led his chariot through the fields, ay till *Alecto* appeared vnto them in the shape of an Howlet.

## V

*Vranie* The heauenly Muse.

FINIS.

*Sonnet of the Authour.*

**T**HE facound Greke, *Demosthenes* by name,  
 His toung was ones into his youth so flow,  
 As evin that airt, which floorish made his fame,  
 He scarce could name it for a tyme, ze know. Rhetor-  
rique.  
 So of small feidis the *Liban* Cedres grow :  
 So of an Egg the *Egle* doeth proceid :  
 From fountains small great *Nilus* flood doeth flow :  
 Evin so of rawnis do mightie fishes breid.  
 Therefore, good Reader, when as thow dois reid  
 These my first fruitis, dispyse them not at all.  
 Who watts, both these may able be indeid  
 Of fyner Poemis the begynning small.  
 Then, rather loae my meaning and my panis,  
 Then lak my dull ingyne and blunted branis.

F I N I S.



I HAVE INSERT FOR  
THE FILLING OVT OF THIR  
VACAND PAGEIS, THE VERIE  
wordis of *Plinius* vpon the  
*Phœnix*,  
as followis

\*\*\*  
\*

C. PLINII

*Nat. Hist. Lib. Decimi, Cap. 2.*  
*De Phœnice.*

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\*



Ethiopes atque Indi, discolores maximè. et inenarrabiles ferunt aues, et ante omnes nobilem Arabia Phœnicem: haud scio an fabulosè, vnum in toto orbe, nec visum magnopere. Aquilæ narratur magnitudine, auri fulgore circa colla, cætera purpureus, cæruleam roseis caudam pennis distinguentibus, cristis faciem, capûtque plumeo apice cohonestante. Primus atque diligentissimus togatorum de eo prodidit Manilius, Senator ille, maximis nobilis doctrinis doctore nullo: neminem extitisse qui viderit vescentem: sacrum in Arabia Soli esse, viuere annis DCLX. fenescentem, casia thurisque furculis construere nidum, replere odoribus, et superemori. Ex ossibus deinde et memedullis eius nasci primo ceuermiculum: inde fieri pullum; principiôque iusta funeri priori reddere, et totum deferre nidum prope Panchaiam in Solis vrbem, et in ara ibi deponere. Cum huius alitis vita magni conuer-

tionem ann fieri prodit idem Manilius, iterumque fig-  
nificationes tempestatum et fiderum eafdem reuerti.  
Hoc autem circa meridiem incipere, quo die fignum  
Arietis Sol intrauerit. Et fuiſſe eius conuerſionis  
annum prodente ſe P. Licinio, M. Cornelio Conſul-  
ibus. Cornelius Valerianus Phœnicem deuolaſſe in  
AEGYPTUM tradit, Q. Plautio, Sex. Papinio Coſſ. Alla-  
tus eſt et in urbem Claudij Principis Cenſura, anno  
urbis DCCC, et in comitio propoſitus, quod actis  
teſtatum eſt, ſed quem falſum eſſe nemo dubitaret.

*FINIS.*

*I helped my ſelf alſo in my Tragedie thairof, vvith  
the Phœnix of Laſtantius Firmianus, vvith  
Geſnerus de Auibus, and dyuers vthers,  
bot I haue onely inſert thir fore-  
ſaid vvords of Plinius,  
Because I follovv  
him maiſt in  
my Tra-  
gedie.  
Farevvell.*



ON THE INTRODUCTION AND EARLY USE OF TOBACCO  
IN ENGLAND.

For a discussion as to the knowledge and use of Tobacco previous to the Discovery of America : see *The Athenæum* for 27 June and 1 August 1857.

I. 1577. The earliest detailed account of the herb Tobacco in the English language I believe to be, "*Joyfull nerves oute of the newe founde worlde* . . . . Englished by JOHN FRAMPTON Marchant." London. 1577. A work reprinted in 1580, 1596, &c.

In his Dedication—dated London, 1 Oct. 1577—to 'Master Edwarde Dier Esquire,' Frampton informs us :

Retourning right worshipfull, home into Englande oute of Spaine, and novv not pressed vvith the former toiles of my old trade, I to passe the tyme to some benefite of my countrie, and to auoyde idlenesse: tooke in hande to translate out of Spanishe into Englishe, the thre bookes of Doctour Monardes of Seull, the learned Phisition, treatyng of the singuler and rare vertues of certaine Hearbes, Trees, Oyles, Plantes, Stones, and Drugges of the Weste Indies . . . .

NICHOLAS MONARDES had first published his account of Tobacco in the Second Part of his *De las Cosas que traen de neustras Indias Occidentales que sfruen en medicina*. Published at Seville in 1571, and republished there, all three parts together, in 1574.

The following extracts are taken from the second edition of *Joyfull nerves*, 1580: which Frampton describes as "Newly corrected as by conference with the olde copies may appeare." Monardes tells us—

This Hearbe which commonly is called *Tabaco*, is an Hearbe of much antiquitie, and knowen amongst the Indians, and in especially among them of the new Spayne, and after that those Countries were gotten by our Spaniardes, beyng taught of the Indians, they did profite themselues with those things, in the wounds which they receiued in their Warres, healing themselues therewith to the great benefite.

Within these few yeeres [Monardes is writing in 1571] there hath beene brought into Spayne of it, more to adorne Gardens with the fairenesse thereof, and to geue a pleasant sight, than that it was thought to haue the maruelous medicinable vertues, which it hath, but nowe wee doe vse it more for his vertues. than for his fairenesse. For surely they are such which doe bring admiration. . . .

The proper name of it amongst the Indians is *Picielt*, for the name of *Tabaco* is geuen to it by our Spainardes, by reason of an Islande that is named *Tabaco*. . . .

One of the meruelles of this Hearbe, and that which bringeth most admiration, is, the maner howe the Priestes of the Indias did vse it, which was in this manner: when there was emongest the Indians any manner of businesse, of greate importaunce, in the which the chiefe gentlemen called *Casiques*, or any of the principall people of the countrie, had necessitie to consult with their Priestes, in any businesse of importance; they went and propounded their matter to their chiefe Priest, forthwith in their presence, he tooke certaine leaues of the *Tabaco*, and cast them into the fire, and did receiue the smoke of them at his mouth, and at his nose with a Cane,

and in taking of it, hee fell downe vppon the ground, as a Dead man, and remayning so, according to the quantitie of the smoke that he had taken, and when the hearbe had done his worke, he did reuiue and awake, and gaue them their answers, according to the visions, and illusions which hee sawe, whiles he was rapt in the same manner, and he did interpret to them, as to him seemed best, or as the Deuill had counselled him, geuing them continually doubtfull answeres, in such sorte, that howsoever it fell out, they might say that it was the same, which was declared, and the answer that he made.

In like sort the rest of the Indians for their pastime, doe take the smoke of the *Tabaco*, too make themselues drunke withall, and to see the visions, and thinges that represent vnto them that wherein they doe delight: and other times thy take it to knowe their businesse, and successe, because conformable to that, which they haue seene beyng drunke therewith, euen so they iudge of their businesse. And as the Deuill is a deceauer, and hath the knowledge of the vertue of hearbes, so he did shew the vertue of this Hearb, that by the meanes thereof, they might see their imaginations, and visions, that he hath represented to them, and by that meanes deceiue them.

So far Monardes. The page following his account begins thus:—

Hereafter followeth a further addition of the Hearbe called *Tabaco*, otherwise called by the Frenchmen *Nicotiane*. Which hearbe hath done great cures in the Realme of *Fraunce* and *Portugal*, as heereafter at large may appeare in this treatise following.

This treatise is not found in Monardes: but was taken by Frampton from a celebrated French author.

After the death of CHARLES ESTIENNE, another French doctor, JOHN LIEBAUT, edited successive editions of his *L'Agriculture, et Maison Rustique*, in 1564, 1565, 1570, 1574, &c.: until the names of the two medical men became identified with this popular work.

In the edition of 1570, at *p.* 79, *b.* ii. *c.* 76, will be found the French text of 'the treatise following,' which Frampton slipped into a totally different author. Of this treatise, we shall give the essential portions, because it contains Nicot's own account of the introduction of Tobacco into France, within the decade preceding his relation.

Liébault thus begins his discourse:—

*Nicotiane*, although it bee not long since it hath bene knowne in France, notwithstanding deserueth palme and price, and among al other medicinable hearbs, it deserueth to stand in the first rank, by reason of his singular vertues, and as it were almost to bee had in admiration, as hereafter you shall vnderstand. And for that none suche as of auncient time, or of late dayes, haue written the nature of plantes, did neuer make mention thereof, I haue therefore learned the whole historie touching the same, which I learned of a gentleman my very friend, the first authour, inuenter, and bringer of this hearb into France: wherfore I thought good to publish it in writing for their sakes, that haue so often hearde speaking of this saide hearbe, and yet neyther knew the hearbe nor the effectes thereof.

This Hearbe is called *Nicotiane*, of the name of him that gaue the firste intelligence thereof vnto this Realme, as many other plantes haue taken their names of certayne Greekes and Romaynes, who hauing bene in straunge Countries, for seruice of their common Weales, haue brought into their countries many plants, which were before vnknowne. Some haue called this

Hearbe the Queenes Hearbe, because it was firste sent vnto her, as heere-after shalbe declared by the Gentleman, that was the first inuenter of it, and since was by her geuen to diuers for to sowe, whereby it might bee planted in this lande. Others haue named it the great Priors hearbe, for that he caused it to multiply in Fraunce, more then any other, for the greate reuerence that he bare to [t]his hearbe, for the Diuine effectes therin contayned. Many haue geuen it the name, *Petum*, which is indeede the proper name of the Hearbe, as they which haue trauelled that Countrie can tell. Notwithstanding, it is better to name it *Nicotiane*, by the name of him that sent it into Fraunce first, to the ende that hee may haue the hōnour thereof, according to his desert, for that hee hath enriched our Countrie [*i.e.* France], with so singular an Hearbe. Thus much for the name, and nowe hearken further for the whole Historie.

Then follows NICOT's own account :

Maister Iohn *Nicot*, Counsellor to the King, being Embassadour for his Maestie in Portugall, in the yeere of our Lorde. 1559. 60. 61. went one day to see the Prysors of the King of Portugall: and a Gentleman beeyng the keeper of the sade Prisons presented him with this hearb, as a strange Plant brought from *Florida*. The same Maister *Nicot*, hauing caused the said hearb to be set in his Garden, where it grewe and multiplied maruellously, was vpon a time aduertised, by one of his Pages, that a young man, of kinne to that Page made asaye of that hearbe brused both the hearbe and the Iuice together vpon an vlcer, which he had vpon his cheeke neere vnto his nose, comming of a *Noli me tangere*, which began to take roote already at the gristles of the Nose, wherewith hee founde himselfe meruellously eased. Therefore the sayde Maister *Nicot* caused the sicke young man to bee brought before him, and causing the saide hearb to be continued to the sore eight or ten daies, this saide *Noli me tangere*, was vtterly extinguished and healed: and he had sent it, while this cure was a woorking to a certeine Phisition of the King of Portugall one of the greatest fame to examine the further working and effect of the said *Nicotiane*, and sending for the same young man at the end of ten dayes, the sayde Phisition seeing the visage of the said sicke yong man, certified, that the sayde *Noli me tangere* was vtterly extinguished, as in deede he neuer felt it since.

Within a while after, one of the Cookes of the sayde Embassadour hauing almost cutte off his thombe, with a great chopping knyfe, the Steward of the house of the sayde Gentleman ran to the sayde *Nicotiane*, and dressed him therewith fīue or sixe tymes, and so in the ende thereof he was healed: from that time forward this hearbe began to bee famous throughout *Lishebron*, where the court of the kyng of Portugall was at that present, and the vertue of this sayde hearbe was extolled, and the people began to name it the Ambassadours hearbe. Wherefore there came certaine dayes after a Gentleman of the Countrie, Father to one of the Pages of the Ambassadour, who was troubled with an vlcer in his Legge, hauinge had the same twoo yeeres, and demanded of the sayde Ambassadour for his hearbe, and vsing the same in such order as is before written, at the end of tenne or twelue daies hee was healed. From that tyme forth the fame of that same hearbe increased in such sort, that many came from al places to haue some of it. Among al others there was a woman that had her face couered wyth a Ringworme rooted, as though she had a Visour on her face, to whome she saide L[ord] Embassadour caused the hearbe to be giuen, and told how she should vse it, and at the ende of eight or tenne daies, this woman was throughly healed, who came and presented her selfe to the Ambassadour, shewing him of her healing.

After there came a Captaine to present his Sonne sick of the kinges euill to the sayde L[ord] Ambassadour, for to send him into France, vnto whome there was asaye made of the sayde hearbe, which in fewe dayes did begin to shewe great signes of healing, and finally he was altogethēr healed thereby of the kings euill.

The L[ord] Ambassadour seeing so great effectes proceeding of this hearbe, and hauing heard say that the Lady Montigue that was, dyed at Saint *German's*, of an vlcer bredd in her brest, that did turne to a *Noli me tangere*,

for the which there could neuer remedy bee founde, and lykewyse that the Countesse of *Ruffe*, had sought for al the famous Phisitions of that Realme, for to heale her face, vnto whom they could giue no remedy, he thought it good to communicate the same into France, and did sende it to king *Frauncis* the seconde, and to the Queene Mother, and to many other Lords of the Court, with the maner of ministring the same: and howe to apply it vnto the said diseases, euen as he had found it by experience, and chiefly to the Lorde of *Iarnac* gouernour of Rogel, with whom the saide Lorde Ambassadour had great amitie for the seruice of the king. The which Lord of *Iarnac* told one day at the Queenes table, yat he had caused the saide *Nicotiane* to be distilled, and the water to bee dronke, mingled with water *Fuphrasie*, otherwise called eyebright, to one that was shorte breathed, who was therewith healed.

[Here follow descriptions of the herb, and directions for its cultivation.]

Moreover the inhabitantes of *Florida* do nourish themselues certaine ymes, with the smoke of this Hearbe, which they receaue at the mouth through certaine coffins, suche as the Grocers do vse to put in their Spices. There be other oyntmentes prepared of the sayde hearbe, with other simples, but for a truth this only simple hearbe, taken and applyed as aforesayde, is of greater efficacie, notwithstanding one may make thereof an oyntment, which is singular, to cleanse, incarnate, and knit together al maner of woundes: the making of the sayde Oyntmente is thus. Take a pounce of the freshe leaues of the sayde Hearbe, stampe them, and mingle them with newe Waxe, Rosine, common oyle, of eche three ounces, let them boyle altogether, vntil the Iuyce *Nicotiane* be consumed, then adde thereto three ounces of *Venise Turpentine*, straine the same through a Linen cloth, and keepe it in Pottes to your vse.

*Liébaüt* thus concludes:—

Loe, here you haue the true Historie of *Nicotiane*, of the whiche the sayde Lorde *Nicot*, one of the Kynges Counsellers first founder out of this hearbe, hath made mee priuie aswell by woorde as by wryting, to make thee (friendly Reader) partaker therof, to whom I require thee to yeeld as hartly thanks as I acknowledge my self bounde vnto him, for this benefite received.—*Joyfull News*, fol. 42-45.

In so far therefore, as these two editions of *Joyfull newes* circulated, this much was known in England respecting Tobacco, fo early as 1577-80.

II. The principal notices of the first introduction of the Herb into this country are these:—

1. EDMUND HOWES, in his continuation of *J. Stow's Annales*, [p. 1038. Ed. 1631] states—

Tobacco was first brought, and made known in England by Sir Iohn Hawkins, about the yeare 1565 but not vsed by Englishmen in many yeeres after, though at this day commonly vsed by most men, and many women.

The dates of Mr, afterwards Sir John Hawkins' voyages to the West Indies, are

The first	Oct. 1562—	Sept. 1563.
The second	18 Oct. 1564—	20 Sept. 1565.
The third	} 2 Oct. 1567—	25 Jan. 1568.
'the troublesome voyadge'		

The account of the Second voyage, by John Sparke the younger, states that Hawkins, ranging along the coast of Florida for fresh water in July 1565, came upon the French settlement there under *Laudoniere*: and in describing that country Sparke mentions that the natives—

The *Floridians* when they trauell haue a kinde of herbe dried, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire and the dried herbs put together, do sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or fīue dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks.—*Hakluyt*, p. 541. *Ed.* 1589.

2. Howes, on the same page as the preceding, states—

*Apricocks, Mellycatons, Musk-Millions* and *Tobacco*, came into England about the 20 yeare of Queene Elizabeth [1577].

And adds in the margin—

Sir Walter Raleigh was the first that brought Tobacco into vse, when all men woudred what it meant.

The date here given, so far as Tobacco smoking generally is concerned, must be wrong by about ten years.

III. Smoking appears to have been first taught in England, under the following circumstances:—

1. Sir Walter Raleigh's first Expedition took possession of Virginia on 13 July 1584, and after a six weeks' stay in the country, returned home. The next year, a second expedition conveyed out a colony under Master Ralph Lane, which remained in the country from 17 Aug. 1585 to 18 June 1586: when Sir Francis Drake and his fleet returning from his victorious raid in the West Indies brought home the colony to the number of 103 persons. Among these was the celebrated mathematician Thomas Hariot, who in his excessively rare '*Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: &c.* . . . . Imprinted at London 1588,' thus describes Tobacco, and the adoption of the smoking of it by these Virginian colonists.

There is an herbe which is sowed a part by it selfe and is called by the inhabitants *vppōuoc*: In the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the seuerall places and countries where it groweth and is vsed: The Spaniards generally call it *Tobacco*. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder: they vse to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humors, openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the vse thereof, not only preserueth the body from obstructions; but also if any be, so that they haue not bene of too long continuance, in short time breaketh them: wherby their bodies are notably preserued in health, and know not many greuous diseases wherewithall wee in England are oftentimes afflicted.

This *Vppōuoc* is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are maruelously delighted therewith: Whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dauncing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and staring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithal and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selues during the time we were there vsed to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, and haue found manie rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof; of which the relation would require a

volume by it self: the vse of it by so manie of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned Phisitions also, is sufficient witnes.

It would therefore appear that Raleigh himself had nothing to do either with the introduction of the weed itself, or of the habit of smoking of it. Hawkins may have brought home a few specimens of the plant in 1565; but for the importation of it in any quantity and for the teaching of how to smoke it, we are indebted to Master Ralph Lane and to his fellow-colonists, who acquired both from the Indians, during the twelve months they were cut off from all intercourse with their mother-country.

2. William Camden, who was second, afterwards Head Master of Westminster School between 1575-1593, and consequently a contemporary witness, in his *Annales*, published in Latin in 1615, at p. 388, gives this account; of which this is the earliest translation into English.

These were the first (that I know of) that brought at their returne into England, that *Indian* Plant called Tobacco, or *Nicotiana*, which they used, being instructed by the *Indians*, against crudities of the Stomack. And certes since that time it is grown so frequent in vse, and of such price, that many, nay, the most part, with an insatiable desire doe take of it, drawing into their mouth the smoke thereof, which is a strong sent, through a Pipe made of earth, and venting of it againe through their nose; some for wantonnesse, or rather fashion sake, and other for healths sake, insomuch that Tobacco shops are set vp in greater number than either Alehouses or Tauernes. And as one said, but falsely, the bodies of such Englishmen, as are so much delighted with this plant, did seeme to degenerate into the nature of the Sauages, because they were caried away with the selfe-same thing, beleeuing to obtaine and conserue their health by the selfe-same meanes, as the barbarians did.—*Bk. III. p. 107. Ed. 1625.*

In the face of these facts, attested by early contemporary testimony: all accounts which represent Sir W. Raleigh as introducing Tobacco into England must be considered false in that respect.

Incidentally this agrees with the account—though in itself no evidence—given in an undated 4 pp. tract, *The Venimous Qualities of Tobacco*, apparently printed before 1650.

TABACCO is an ignite Plant, called by the native Americans *Picielt*; by those of *Hispaniola*, *Pete be Cenuc*; as by those of *New France*, *Peti*, *Petum*, and *Petunum*. It was called by the French *Nicotiana*, from *John Nicotius* Embassador to the king of *France*, who *An. 1559*, first sent this Plant into *France*. But now it is generally by us Europeans termed *Tabaco*, (which we improperly pronounce *Tobacco*) a name first given it by the Spaniards from their Iland *Tabaco*, which abounded with this Plant; whereof had *Plato* had as much experience as we, he would, without al peradventure, have philosophised thereon. They say we are beholding to Sir *Francis Drake's* Mariners for the knowledge and use of the Plant, who brought its Seed from *Virginie* into *England* about the year 1585.

IV. But while Sir Walter introduced neither the Herb nor the manner of smoking it, there is a general consent that he principally brought the habit of Tobacco-smoking, or, as it was at first called, *Tobacco-drinking*, into fashion. His name, and his almost exclusively, became identified with the new National Habit.

Yet even of this, we have but little demonstrative proof.



It may, however, be well to give some of the principal traditions and legends on this point.

1. JOHN AUBREY, F.R.S., in his *Minutes of Lives of Eminent Men*, of which his Introductory letter to Anthony à Wood is dated 15 June 1680, gives the following in his life of Raleigh.

He was the first that brought tobacco into England, and into fashion. In our part of North Wilts—*e.g.* Malmesbury hundred—it came first into fashion by Sir Walter Long. They had first silver pipes. The ordinary sort made use of a walnut shell and a strawe. I have heard my grandfather Lyte say, that one pipe was handed from man to man round the table. Sir W. Raleigh standing in a stand at Sir Robert Poyntz parke, at Acton, tooke a pipe of tobacco, which made the ladies quitt it till he had donne. Within these 35 years, 'twas scandalous for a divine to take tobacco. It was sold then for its wayte in siluer. I haue heard some of our old yeomen neighbours say, that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham Market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco; now, the customes of it are the greatest his majestie hath.—*Letters written by Eminent Persons.* Ed. by John Aubrey. ii. 512. Ed. 1813.

2. J. P. MALCOLM, in his *Londinium Redivivum*, iv. p. 490, Ed. 1801, states.

'There was a tradition, in the parish of St. Matthew, Friday Street, that Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Hugh Myddleton often smoaked tobacco together at the door of Sir Hugh's house' in that parish.

3. THOMAS PENNANT, in his *Journey to Snowdon*, p. 28, Ed. 1781, which forms the second volume of his *Tour in Wales*, the first of which was published in 1778; gives the following account of William Middleton: the third son of Richard Middleton, Governor of Denbigh Castle, and brother to Sir Hugh Middleton, the sixth son in that family.

The particular information, from 'It is sayd' to †, is given on the authority of the *Sebright MSS.*, *i.e.* MSS. formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Lloyd, but lent to him by Sir John Sebright, Bart., in whose possession they were, at the date of Pennant's preface, 1 March 1781. The last part of the paragraph is merely Pennant's speculation: but there may be some truth in the MS. legend.

The third, *William*, was a sea captain, and an eminent poet. His early education was at *Oxford*: but his military turn led him abroad, where he signalized himself as soldier and sailor. He translated the psalms into *Welsh* metre, and finished them on *Jan.* 4th, 1595, *apud* Scutum *insulam occidentalium Indorum*; which, as well as his *Barddoniaeth*, or art of *Welsh* poetry, were published in *London*; the first in 1603, the other in 1593. It is said, that he, with captain *Thomas Price*, of *Pläsyollin*, and the captain *Koel*, were the first who smoked, or (as they called it) drank tobacco publickly in *London*; and that the *Londoners* flocked from all parts to see them. † Pipes were not then invented, so they used the twisted leaves, or *segars*. The invention is usually ascribed to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. It may be so; but he was too good a courtier to smoke in public, especially in the reign of *James*, who even condescended to write a book against the practice, under the title of *The Counter-blast to Tobacco*.

4. A Physician [Dr. J. A. PARIS] in *A Guide to Mounts Bay and Lands End*, p. 39, Ed. 1824, states.

A tradition exists here, that *Tobacco* was first smoked by *Sir Walter Raleigh* in Penzance, on his landing from America.

Which legend is quite contrary to the facts.

5. WILLIAM OLDYS, in his *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* prefixed to *The History of the World*, Ed. 1736, xxxii., gives the following from a 4to MS. entitled *Apophthegms of the English Nation*, then in the collection of Rodney Fane, Esq.

He [Sir W. Raleigh] assured her majesty [Queen Elizabeth] he had so well experienced the nature of it, that he could tell her of what weight even the smoke would be in any quantity propos'd to be consum'd. Her majesty fixing her thoughts upon the most impracticable part of the experiment, that of bounding the *smoke* in a *ballance*, suspected that he put the traveller upon her, and would needs lay him a wager he could not solve the doubt: so he procured a quantity agreed upon to be thoroughly smok'd, then went to weighing; but it was of the ashes; and in the conclusion, what was wanting in the prime weight of the tobacco, her majesty did not deny to have been evaporated in smoke; and further said, that *many labourers in the fire she had heard of who turned their gold into smoke, but Raleigh was the first who had turned smoke into gold.*

JAMES HOWELL, *Familiar Letters*, iii. 12, Ed. 1650, in a Letter on Tobacco, incidentally confirms this story.

But if one would try a pretty conclusion how much smook ther is in a pound of Tobacco, the ashes will tell him; for let a pound be exactly weighed, and the ashes kept charily and weighed afterwards, what wants of a pound weight in the ashes cannot be denied to have bin smoak, which evaporated into air; I haue bin told that Sir Walter Rawleigh won a wager of Queen *Elizabeth* upon this nicity.

6. We have now come to a legend, perhaps the most untrustworthy of all.

(1.) In *Tarlton's Jells*, 1611, 4to, there occurs the following story.

*How Tarlton tooke tobacco at the first comming up of it.*

Tarlton, as other gentlemen used, at the first comming up of tobacco, did take it more for fashion's sake than otherwise; and being in a roome, set between two men overcome with wine, and they never seeing the like, wondred at it, and seeing the vapour come out of Tarlton's nose, cryed out: fire, fire! and threw a cup of wine in Tarlton's face. Make no more stirre, quoth Tarlton, the fire is quenched; if the sheriffes come, it will turne to a fine, as the custome is. And drinking that againe: fie, sayes the other, what a stinke it makes; I am almost poisoned. If it offend, saies Tarlton, let's every one take a little of the smell, and so the savour will quickly goe: but tobacco whiffes made them leave him to pay all.—*Shakespeare's Jest-Books*, Ed. by W. C. Hazlitt. ii. 221. Ed. 1864.

(2.) In 1619, BARNABY RICH inferted in the *second* edition of *The Irish Hubbub, or the English Hue and Crie*, a similar story.

I remember a pretty jest of Tobacco. That was this. A certaine Welchman comming newly to London, and beholding one to take tobacco, neuer seeing the like before, and not knowing the manner of it, but perceiuing him vent smoake so fast, and supposing his inward parts to be on fire: cryed out, *O Ihesu, Ihesu man, for the passion of Cod hold, for by Cods splud ty snowts on fire*, and hauing a bowle of beere in his hand, threw it at the others face to quench his smoking nose.—p. 45.

(3.) To fomewhat fimilar purport is the legend of Sir W. Raleigh and the Tankard of Ale. Of this story, though evidently current in the feventeenth century, Oldys could quote no earlier authority than *The British Apollo*, 3d Ed. p. 376, London 1726: and we

can only adduce the authority of the first edition of the same work.

*The British Apollo* was a bi-weekly periodical 'Perform'd by a Society of Gentlemen,' partly devoted to the explanation of difficulties in Divinity, Mathematics, Love, and such like, and partly to Poetry and Political News. In itself of no authority whatever, it merely dispensed its modicums of current knowledge from the learned to the general public.

In Vol. I, No. 43, published on July 7, 1708, occur the following question and answer.

*Q. Gentlemen, Pray how long is it since, the smoaking Tobacco, and the taking Snuff hath been in Use here in England; the time when they were first brought over, and how, or by whom.* Your Humble Servant, H. S.

*A.* Snuff, tho' the Use of it has been long known to such, as were by merchandizing or other means, familiar with the Spanish Customes, has been till lately a perfect Stranger to the Practice of the British Nation, and like our other Fashions came to us from *France*, but the Use of Tobacco-smoaking, was introduc'd by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and since a comical story depends upon the Relation, it may not be unacceptable to the Querist and the Publick.

Sir *Walter* having imitated the *Indians* by delighting in their Favorite Weed, was unwilling to disuse it, and therefore at his return to *England*, supplied himself with some Hogsheads, which he plac'd in his own Study, and generally indulg'd himself in Smoaking secretly, two Pipes a Day: at which times he order'd a Simple Fellow, who waited at his Study Door, to bring him up a Tankard of old Ale and Nutmeg, always laying aside the Pipe, when he heard his Servant coming; But while he was one day, earnestly employ'd in Reading something, which amus'd him, The Fellow enter'd, and surprizing his Master, as the Smoak ascended thickly from his Mouth and the Bole of the Pipe, he threw the Ale directly in his Face; and running down Stairs alarm'd the Family with repeated Exclamations, that his Master was on fire in the in-side, and before they could get up Stairs would be burnt to Ashes.

How much this legend wanders from the facts of the case, will be apparent from the above. There may, however, be earlier accounts of this story in a more credible form: but we have not met with them. The story may possibly have been connected with other names besides Tarleton, the Welshman, and Raleigh.

Oldys, in quoting the legend, remarks.

This I say, if true, has nothing in it of more surprising or unparallel'd simplicity, than there was in that poor *Norwegian*, who upon the first sight of *Roses* could not be induced to touch, tho' he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold trees budding with fire; or, to come closer by way of retaliation, than there was in those *Virginians* themselves, who, the first time they seized upon a quantity of *Gun-powder* which belong'd to the *English* colony, sow'd it for grain, or the seed of some strange vegetable in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest to scatter their enemies. *Life of Sir W. Raleigh, xxxi. Ed. 1736.*

6. We may conclude this string of stories, with a trustworthy account of Sir *W. Raleigh's* Tobacco Box. OLDYS in his *Life*, xxxi. Note e, Ed. 1736, tells us, that

Being at *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, soon after Mr. *Ralph Thoresby* the antiquary died, Anno 1725. I saw his *Musæum*; and in it, among other rarities, what himself has publickly call'd (in the catalogue thereof, annexed to his *antiquities* of that town) Sir *Walter Raleigh's* tobacco box. From the best of my memory, I can resemble its outward appearance to nothing more

nearly than one of our modern *Muff-cases*; about the same height and width, cover'd with red leather, and open'd at top (but with a hinge, I think) like one of those. In the inside, there was a cavity for a receiver of glass or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular stay or collar, with holes in it, to plant the tobacco about, with six or eight pipes to smoke it in. This travelling box, with the MSS. Medals and other rarities in its company, descending to a young clergyman, the son of the deceased, was soon after reported to have been translated to *London*.

V. The general credence and affociation of Smoking with Sir W. Raleigh being remembered; may it not be taken as proof of a malignancy towards him—even thus early—on the part of the Writer of the *Counterblaste*; in that he depreciates 'the first Author' as neither King, great Conqueror, nor learned Doctor of Physicke,' and affirms the custome to be 'brought in by a father so generally hated;' in that he wilfully or ignorantly falsifies the history of the Introduction of Tobacco; concocting a degrading story for his purpose.

VI. We have now but to notice the early beginnings of the Tobacco Controversy, which—sometimes slumbering, sometimes raging—has lasted to our own time, and will yet go on. It created a larger early Tobacco literature in England than is generally thought, or than we have been able to trace. It raged over Europe as well as in England.

And here we may express some astonishment that no one among the countless myriads of Smokers, has ever written a History of the Tobacco Literature and of the progress of Smoking through civilized and uncivilized communities, even unto this last age, wherein the Whahabees of Arabia punish it, under the name of *Drinking the shameful* with death. Of sketches there are several. Mr. F. Tiedeman has given an excellent one of the general Introduction of the plant into Europe, in his *Geschichte des Tabaks, etc.*, Frankfort, 1852. Mr. F. W. Fairholt in his *History of Tobacco*, London 1842, has given a good instalment towards a History of the subject: while *A Paper: of Tobacco*, by Joseph Fume [W. A. Chatto] London, 1832, is a slighter study still. Another work, *A Pinch of Snuff*, London, 1837, I have been unable to meet with. Dr. H. W. Cleland in his privately printed work *On the History and Properties, Chemical and Medical, of Tobacco*, Glasgow, July 1840—which work also we have not had the advantage of consulting—gives a list of 150 works on this subject. All these modern works are but helps to the future Historian of Tobacco.

VII. To these; we can add here but another sketch of the earlier Controversy; and that a very limited one. It will be convenient to give the notices under each year: dwelling more particularly on those which incidentally illustrate the growth of the Habit, as well as the progress of the Controversy.

1587. *De Herba Panacea*, written by GILES EVARARD, latinized ÆGIDIUS EVERARDUS, may be just mentioned : because it formed the text of a larger English work, *Panacea* : published in London in 1659.

1595. WILLIAM BARLEY had a licence to print a Treatise describing the nature of Tobacco. *Herbert's Ames*, ii. 277.

1596. BEN JONSON, in *Every Man in his Humour*, Act III. Sc. 2, acted on 25th November 1596, thus very skilfully represents both sides of the controversy, in the speeches of *Bobadilla* and *Cob*.

*Bobadilla*. Body of me : here's the remainder of seuen pound, since yesterday was seuenight. It's your right *Trinidado* : did you neuer take any, signior ?

*Stephano*. No truly sir ? but i'le learne to take it now, since you commend it so.

*Bobadilla*. Signior belecue me, (vpon my relation) for what I tel you, the world shall not improue. I haue been in the Indies (where this herbe growes) where neither my selfe, nor a dozen Gentlemen more (of my knowledge) haue receiued the taste of any other nutriment, in the world, for the space of one and twentie weekes, but Tabacco onely. Therefore it cannot be but 'tis most diuine. Further, take it in the nature, in the true kinde so, it makes an Antidote, that (had you taken the most deadly poysonous simple in all Florence, it should expell it, and clarifie you, with as much ease, as I speak. And for your greene wound, your *Balsamum*, and your — are all meere gulleries, and trash to it, especially your *Trinidado* ; your *Newcotian* is good too : I could say what I know of the vertue of it, for the exposing of rewmes, raw humors, crudities, obstructions, with a thousand of this kind ; but I professe my selfe no quacke-saluer : only thus much : by *Hercules* I doe holde it, and will affirme it (before any Prince in Europe) to be the most foueraigne, and pretious herbe, that euer the earth tendred to the vse of man.

Immediately afterwards ; he makes *Cob* represent the other side.

*Cob*. By gods deynes : I marle what pleasure or felicitie they haue in taking this rogish Tabacco : it's good for nothing but to choake a man, and fill him full of smoake, and imbers : there were foure died out of one house last weeke with taking of it, and two more the bell went for yester-night, one of them (they say) will ne're scape it, he voyded a bushell of soote yester-day, vpwrd and downeward. By the stockes ; and there were no wiser men then I, I'd haue it present death, man or woman, that should but deale with a Tabacco pipe ; why, it will stife them all in the'nd as many as vse it ; it's little better than rats bane. *Ed.* 1601.

(3.) Tobacco is said not to be alluded to by Shakespeare or in the *Arabian Nights*.

(4.) It is often noticed by other English dramatists : as Dekker and others later on. See also Malone, *Hist. Acc. of the English Stage*, p. 584.

1597. THOMAS GERARD, 'Master in Chiurvrgerie,' figures and describes the Tobacco plant in *The Herbal or General Histoire of Plantes*, Bk. ii. pp. 285-9.

1597. Bp. JOSEPH HALL publishes his Satires, in which he alludes to Tobacco Smoking, Bk. iv. Sat. 4 ; Bk. v. Sat. 2.

1598. PAUL HENTZNER, in his Latin *Itinerarium* under August 1598, has a passage, of which the following is a translation by Mr. W. B. Rye :—

At these spectacles, and everywhere else, the English are constantly smoking the Nicotian weed, which in America is called *Tobaca*—others call it *Petun*—[i.e. *Petun*, the Brazilian name for Tobacco, from which the allied

beautiful plant 'Petunia' derives its appellation,] and generally in this manner: they have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and lighting it, they draw the smoke into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head.—*England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 216, ed. 1865.

1599. HENRY BUTTES, M. A. and Fellow of C. C. C., in C[ambridge], wrote a strange work, *Diets Dry Dinner*, of which title he gives this explanation—

*Dyets dry Dinner.* That is, varietie of Fare; provided, prepared and ordered, at *Dyets* own prescription: whose seruant and Attendant at this feast I professe my selfe. Thus far (perhaps) not disliked of any. A *Dry Dinner*, not only *Caninum Prandium*, without Wine, but *Accipitrium*, without all drinke except *Tabacco*, (which also is but *Dry Driuke*): herein not like to be liked of many. What ere it be (as he saith in the Comedie) *Habeas vt Nacta*, take it as you finde it, and welcome. More then which I cannot perform.

The following preface *To my Country-men Readers*, is so allusive that its entire insertion may be pardoned, though it wander a little from our subject:—

Welcome courteous Countrey-men. I meane especially *Norfolkmen*. For they are true Catholiques in matter of Dyet: no Recusants of any thing that is mans meate. I bid all in general, excepting only such as are affrayed of roasted Pigge, a breast or legge of Mutton, a Ducke &c. To conclude, I forbid no man, but him onely that hath married a wife and cannot come. No man shall loose his labour. Here are *Lettuses* for euery mans lips. For the *Northeren-man*, *White-meates*, *Beefe*, *Mutton*, *Venison*: for the *Southerne-man*, *Fruites*, *Hearbes*, *Fowle*, *Fish*, *Spice*, and *Sauce*. As for the *Middlesex* or *Londoner*, I smell his Diet. *Vescitur aura ætheria*. Here is a Pipe of right *Trinidad* for him. The *Yorkers* they will be content with bald *Tabacodocko*. What should I say? here is good *Veale* for the *Essex-man*: passing *Leekes* and excellent *Cheese* for the *Welsh-man*. *Denique quid non?* *Mary*, here are neither *Eg-pies* for the *Lancashire-man*, nor *Wag-tayles* for the *Kentish-man*. But that is all one, here is other good cheere enough. And what is wanting in meate, shall bee supplied in kinde welcome and officious attendance.

Least any thing should be amisse, or missing to thee, I haue my selfe (for fault of a better) taken vpon me all such Offices as any way concerne this Dinner.

1 CHOSE. First, I am *Cator*: and haue provided the very choise of such daynties as Natures Market affoordeth.

2 VSE. Secondly, I am *Taster*: commending each dish to thy Palate, according to his right vse and vertue.

3 HURT. And (since nothing is so perfectly good, as it partaketh of no euill property) I haue put into a by-dish (like *Eg-shelles* in a Saucer) what worthily may breed offence. Herein imitating a merry *Greeke*, who espying an haire in a dish of Butter, called for another dish and dished it by it self.

4 PREPARATION OR CORRECTION. Thirdly, I play the *Cooke*: so preparing, seasoning, and saucing the harmefull disposition of euery meat, as it shall be either in whole abolished, or in part qualified.

[5] DEGREE, SEASON, AGE, CONSTITUTION. Lastly, I assume the *Caruers* office: and hauing noted the nature and operation of each particular dispense to euery of my Guests according to the Season, his Age, and Constitution.

Thus very rudely, I obtrude vnto thee not a banquet, but a byt rather of each dish *Scholler-likely*, that is, badly carued. For *Schollers* are bad *Caruers*. Do thou, by thy kindly feeding on *Dyets dry Dinner*, but cause thy selfe to thirst for *Dyets Drinking*: and I shall with like alacrity, act thy *Cup-bearer*. Wherefore vntill thou beest *Dry drunke*, Fare-well. *Thy Country-man*. H. Buttes.

Applying his method, Buttes thus discourfes of Tabacco :

CHOISE. Translated out of India in the seed or roote ; Natiue or satiuë in our own fruitfuller soiles : Dried in the shade, and compiled very close : of a tawny colour, somewhat inclining to red : most perspicuous and cleare : which the Nose soonest taketh in snuffe.

VSE. It cureth any grieffe, dolour, opilation, impostume, or obstruction, proceeding of cold or winde : especially in the head or breast : the leaues are good against the Migraine, cold stomackes, sick kidnies, tooth-ache, fits of the moother, naughty breath, scaldings or burnings : 4. ounces of the iuyce drunk, purgeth vp and downe : cleanseth the eyes, being outwardly applied. The water distilled and taken afore the fits, cureth an Ague.

The fume taken in a Pipe is good against Rumes, Catarrhs, hoarsenesse, ache in the head, stomacke, lungs, breast : also in want of meat, drinke, sleepe, or rest.

HURT. Mortifieth and benummeth : causeth drowsinesse : troubleth and dulleth the senses : makes (as it were) drunke : dangerous in meale time.

CORRECTION. The leaues be-ashed or warmed in imbers and ashes : taken once a day at most, in ye morning, fasting.

DEGREE. Hot and dry in the second : of a stiffening and soddering nature. Also disensing and dissolving filthy humours, consisting of contrary qualities.

SEASON. AGE. CONSTITUTION. In Winter and the Spring, for hot, strong, youthful, and fat bodies only, as some thinke.

Buttes also composeth *A Satyricall Epigram, vpon the wanton, and excessiue vse of Tabacco.*

IT chaunc'd me gazing at the Theater,  
 To spie a Lock-Tabacco-Chevalier,  
 Clowding the loathing ayr with foggie fume  
 Of Dock-Tabacco, friendly foe to rume.  
 I wisht the Roman lawes seuerity : *Alex. seu. Edict.*  
*Who smoke selleth, with smoke be don to dy.*  
 Being well nigh smouldred with his smokie stir,  
 I gan this wize bespeak my gallant Sir :  
 Certes, me thinketh (Sir) it ill beseems,  
 Thus here to vapour out these reeking steams :  
 Like or to *Maroes* steeds, whose nostrils flam'd ;  
 Or *Plinies* Nosemen (mouthles men) surnam'd,  
 Whose breathing nose supply'd Mouths absency.  
 He me regreets with this prophane reply :  
 Nay ; I resemble (Sir) *Jehouah* dread,  
 From out whose nostrils a smoake issued :  
 Or the mid-ayrs congealed region,  
 Whose stomach with crude humors frozenon  
 Sucks vp Tabacco-like the vpmost ayr,  
 Enkindled by Fires neighbour candle fayr :  
 And hence it spits out watry reums amaine,  
 As phleamy snow, and haile, and sheerer raine :  
 Anon it smoakes beneath, it flames anon.  
 Sooth then, quoth I, it's safest we be gon,  
 Lest there arise some *Ignis Fatuus*  
 From out this smoaking flame, and choken vs.  
 On English foole : wanton Italianly :  
 Go Frenchly : Duchly drink : breath Indianly.

He then gives this *Storie for Table-talk.*

This Hearbe is of great Antiquitie and high respect among the Indians, and especially those of *America* or new *Spain*. Of whom the Spaniards tooke it, after they had subdued those Countries, first vpon a liking of the hearbe verie faire and glorious to the eye ; afterward vpon triall of his vertues worthie admiration.

The Name in *India* is *Pilciet*, surnamed *Tabacco* by the Spaniard, of the

ile *Tabaco*. By their meanes it spred farre and neare : but yet wee are not beholden to their tradition. Our English *Vlisses*, renomed Syr *Walter Rawleigh*, a man admirably excellent in Nauigation, of Natures priuy counsell, and infinitely reade in the wide booke of the worlde, hath both farre fetcht it, and deare bought it : the estimate of the treasure I leaue to other : yet this all know, since it came in request, there hath bene *Magnus fumi questus*, and *Fumi-vendulus* is the best Epithite for an Apothecary.

Thus much late Histories tell vs : among the Indians it is so highly honoured, that when the Priests are consulting in matter of importance, they presently cast *Tabacco* into the fire, and receiue at their nose and mouth, the smoak through a Cane, till they fall downe dead-drunke. Afterward reuiuing againe, they giue answeres according to the phantasmes and visions, which appeared to them in their sleepe.

1602. (1) "*Work for Chimney-sweepers : or A warning for Tobaccoists*. Describing the pernicious vse of *Tobacco*, no lesse pleasant than profitable for all forts to reade : *Fumus patriæ, Igne alieno Luculentior*. As much to say, Better be chokt with English hemp, then poisoned with Indian *Tabacco*." Written by PHILARETES, who alleges eight reafons against *Tobacco* ; whereof one is—

7 Seauently, for that the first author and finder hereof was the Diuell, and the first practisers of the same were the Diuells Priests, and therefore not to be vsed of vs Christians.

(2.) This provoked "*A Defence of Tabacco* : with a friendly answer to the late printed Booke called *Worke for Chimney-Sweepers*. *Si iudicas, cognosce : si Rex es, iube*."

(3.) Sir WILLIAM VAUGHAN, in his *Naturall and Artificiall Directions for health*, &c. Sect. ii. ch. 8. Of *Hearbes*, p. 22.

*Cane Tabacco* well dried, and taken in a siluer pipe, fasting in the morning, cureth the megrim, the tooth ache, obstructions proceeding of cold, and helpeth the fits of the mother. After meales it doth much hurt, for it infecteth the braine and the liues.

In his fourth edition of this work, published in 1613, he altered his mind and wrote against Smoking.

(4.) Another anonymous work dedicated 'To my loving Friend Master Michael Drayton,' appeared, entitled *The Metamorphosis of Tabacco*. It opens with the following lines :—

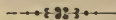
I sing the loues of the superiour powers,  
With the faire mother of all fragrant flowers :  
From which first loue a glorious Simple springs,  
Belou'd of heau'nly Gods, and earthly Kings.  
Let others in their wanton verses chaunt  
A beautious face that doth their senses daunt,  
And on their Muses wings lift to the skie  
The radiant beames of an inchaunting eye.  
Me let the sound of great *Tabaccoes* praise  
A pitch about those loue-sicke Poets raise :  
Let me adore with my thrice-happie pen  
The sweete and sole delight of mortall men,  
The *Cornu-copia* of all earthly pleasure,  
Where bank-rupt Nature hath consum'd her treasure,  
A worthie plant springing from *Floraes* hand,  
The blessed ofspring of an vncouth land.

1604. In the course of this year ; there was anonymously published





A  
COUNTER-  
BLASTE TO  
Tobacco.



Printed at London  
by R. B.  
*Anno* 1604.



¶ TO THE READER.

**A**S euery humane body (*deare Countrey men*) how wholesome soeuer, is notwithstanding subiect, or at least naturally inclined to some sorts of diseases, or infirmities: so is there no Common-wealth, or Body-politicke, how well gouerned, or peaceable soeuer it bee, that lacks the owne popular errors, and naturally enclined corruptions: and therefore is it no wonder, although this our Countrey and Common-wealth, though peaceable, though wealthy, though long flourishing in both, be amongst the rest, subiect to the owne naturall infirmities. *VVe* are of all Nations the people most louing and most reuerently obedient to our Prince, yet are wee (as time hath often borne witnesse) too easie to be seduced to make Rebellion, vpon very slight grounds. Our fortunate and oft prooued valour in warres abroad, our heartie and reuerent obedience to our Princes at home, hath bred vs a long, and a thrice happy peace: Our Peace hath bred wealth: And Peace and wealth hath brought forth a generall sluggishnesse, which makes vs wallow in all sorts of idle delights, and soft delicacies, the first feedes of the subuersion of all great Monarchies. Our Cleargie are become negligent and lazie, our Nobilitie and Gentry prodigall, and solde to

*their priuate delights, Our Lawyers couetous, our Common-people prodigall and curious; and generally all sorts of people more carefull for their priuat ends, then for their mother the Common-wealth.*

*For remedie whereof, it is the Kings part (as the proper Phisician of his Politicke-body) to purge it of all those diseases, by Medicines meete for the same: as by a certaine milde, and yet iust forme of gouernment, to maintaine the Publicke quietnesse, and preuent all occasions of Commotion: by the example of his owne Person and Court, to make vs all ashamed of our sluggish delicacie, and to stirre vs vp to the praetise againe of all honest exercises, and Martiall shadowes of VVarre; As likewise by his, and his Courts moderatenesse in Apparell, to make vs ashamed of our prodigalitie: By his quicke admonitions and carefull ouerseeing of the Cleargie, to waken them vp againe, to be more diligent in their Offices: By the sharpe triall, and seuerer punishment of the partiall, couetous and bribing Lawyers, to reforme their corruptions: And generally by the example of his owne Person, and by the due execution of good Lawes, to reforme and abolish, piece and piece, these old and euill grounded abuses. For this will not bee Opus vnus diei, but as euery one of these diseases, must from the King receiue the owne cure proper for it, so are there some sorts of abuses in Common-wealths, that though they be of so base and contemptible a condition, as they are too low for the Law to looke on, and too meane for a King to interpone his authoritie, or bend his eye vpon: yet are they corruptions, aswell as the greatest of them. So is an Ant an Animal, aswell as an Elephant: so is a VVrenne Auis, aswell as a Swanee, and so is a small dint of the Toothake, a disease aswe as the fearefull Plague is. But for these base sorts of corruption in Common-wealthes, not onely the King, or*

*any inferior Magistrate, but Quilibet è populo may serue to be a Phisician, by discovering and impugning the error, and by perswading reformation thereof.*

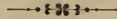
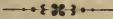
*And surely in my opinion, there cannot be a more base, and yet hurtfull, corruption in a Countrey, then is the vile vse (or other abuse) of taking Tobacco in this Kingdome, which hath moued me, shortly to discouer the abuses thereof in this following little Pamphlet.*

*If any thinke it a light Argument, so is it but a toy that is bestowed vpon it. And since the Subiect is but of Smoke, I thinke the fume of an idle braine, may serue for a sufficient battery against so fumous aud feeble an enemy. If my grounds be found true, it is all I looke for; but if they cary the force of perswasion with them, it is all I can wish, and more then I can expect. My onely care is, that you, my deare Countrey-men, may rightly conceiue euen by this smallest trifle, of the sinceritie of my meaning  
in greater matters, neuer to spare any  
paine, that may tend to the  
procuring of your weale  
and prosperitie.*



A

COUNTERBLASTE TO  
Tobacco.



That the manifold abuses of this vile custome of *Tobacco* taking, may the better be espied, it is fit, that first you enter into consideration both of the first originall thereof, and likewise of the reasons of the first entry thereof into this Countrey. For certainly as such customes, that haue their first institution either from a godly, necessary, or honorable ground, and are first brought in, by the meanes of some worthy, vertuous, and great Personage, are euer, and most iustly, holden in great and reuerent estimation and account, by all wise, vertuous, and temperate spirits: So should it by the contrary, iustly bring a great disgrace in to that sort of customes, which hauing their originall from base corruption and barbarity, doe in like sort, make their first entry into a Countrey, by an inconsiderate and childish affectation of Noueltie, as is the true case of the first inuention of *Tobacco* taking, and of the first entry thereof among vs. For *Tobacco* being a common herbe, which (though vnder diuers names) growes

almost euery where, was first found out by some of the barbarous *Indians*, to be a Preferuatiue, or Antidot against the Pockes, a filthy disease, whereunto these barbarous people are (as all men know) very much subiect, what through the vncleanly and aduſt conſtitution of their bodies, and what through the intemperate heate of their Climat: ſo that as from them was first brought into Chriſtendome, that moſt deteſtable diſeaſe, ſo from them likewise was brought this uſe of *Tobacco*, as a ſtinking and vnfauorie Antidot, for ſo corrupted and execrable a Maladie, the ſtinking Suffumigation whereof they yet uſe againſt that diſeaſe, making ſo one canker or venime to eate out another.

And now good Countrey men let vs (I pray you) conſider, what honour or policie can mooue vs to imitate the barbarous and beaſtly maners of the wilde, godleſſe, and ſlauiſh *Indians*, eſpecially in ſo vile and ſtinking a cuſtome? Shall wee that diſdaine to imitate the maners of our neighbour *France* (hauing the ſtile of the first Chriſtian Kingdom) and that cannot endure the ſpirit of the Spaniards (their King being now comparable in largenes of Dominions, to the great Emperor of *Turkie*) Shall wee, I ſay, that haue bene ſo long ciuill and wealthy in Peace, famous and inuincible in Warre, fortunate in both, we that haue bene euer able to aide any of our neighbours (but neuer deafed any of their eares with any of our ſupplications for aſſiſtance) ſhall we, I ſay, without bluſhing, abaſe our ſelues ſo farre, as to imitate theſe beaſtly *Indians*, ſlaues to the *Spaniards*, reſuſe to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Couenant of God? Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glaſſes, feathers, and ſuch toyes, to golde and precious ſtones, as they doe? yea why do we not denie God and adore the Deuill, as they doe?

Now to the corrupted baſeneſſe of the first uſe of this *Tobacco*, doeth very well agree the fooliſh and groundleſſe first entry thereof into this Kingdome. It is not ſo long ſince the first entry of this abuſe amongſt vs here, as this preſent age cannot yet very well re-

member, both the first Author, and the forme of the first introduction of it amongst vs. It was neither brought in by King, great Conquerour, nor learned Doctor of Phisicke.

With the report of a great discouery for a Conquest, some two or three Sauage men, were brought in, together with this Sauage custome. But the pitie is, the poore wilde barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous custome is yet aliuie, yea in fresh vigor: so as it seemes a miracle to me, how a custome springing from so vile a ground, and brought in by a father so generally hated, should be welcomed vpon so slender a warrant. For if they that first put it in practife heere, had remembred for what respect it was vsed by them from whence it came, I am sure they would haue bene loath, to haue taken so farre the imputation of that disease vpon them as they did, by vsing the cure thereof. For *Sanis non est opus medico*, and counterpoisons are neuer vsed, but where poyson is thought to precede.

But since it is true, that diuers customes slightly grounded, and with no better warrant entred in a Commonwealth, may yet in the vse of them thereafter, prooue both necessary and profitable; it is therefore next to be examined, if there be not a full Sympathie and true Proportion, betweene the base ground and foolish entrie, and the loathsome, and hurtfull vse of this stinking Antidote.

I am now therefore heartily to pray you to consider, first vpon what false and erroneous grounds you haue first built the generall good liking thereof; and next, what sinnes towards God, and foolish vanities before the world you commit, in the detestable vse of it.

As for these deceitfull grounds, that haue specially moued you to take a good and great conceit thereof, I shall content my selfe to examine here onely foure of the principals of them; two founded vpon the Theoricke of a deceivable apparance of Reason, and two of them vpon the mistaken Practicke of generall Experience.

First, it is thought by you a fure Aphorisme in the Physickes, That the braines of all men, beeing naturally colde and wet, all dry and hote things should be good for them ; of which nature this stinking suffumigation is, and therefore of good vse to them. Of this Argument, both the Proposition and Assumption are false, and so the Conclusion cannot but be voyd of it selfe. For as to the Proposition, That because the braines are colde and moist, therefore things that are hote and drie are best for them, it is an inept consequence : For man beeing compounded of the foure Complexions, (whose fathers are the foure Elements) although there be a mixture of them all in all the parts of his body, yet must the diuers parts of our *Microcosme* or little world within our selues, be diuersly more inclined, some to one, some to another complexion, according to the diuersitie of their vses, that of these discords a perfect harmonie may bee made vp for the maintenance of the whole body.

The application then of a thing of a contrary nature, to any of these parts, is to interrupt them of their due function, and by consequence hurtfull to the health of the whole body. As if a man, because the Liuer is hote (as the fountaine of blood) and as it were an ouen to the stomacke, would therefore apply and weare clofe vpon his Liuer and stomacke a cake of lead ; he might within a very short time (I hope) be susteined very good cheape at an Ordinarie, beside the clearing of his conscience from that deadly sinne of gluttonie. And as if, because the Heart is full of vitall spirits, and in perpetuall motion, a man would therefore lay a heauy pound stone on his breast, for staying and holding downe that wanton palpitation, I doubt not but his breast would bee more bruised with the weight thereof, then the heart would be comforted with such a disagreeable and contrarious cure. And euen so is it with the Braines. For if a man, because the Braines are colde and humide, would therefore vse inwardly by smells, or outwardly by application,



things of hot and drie qualitie, all the gaine that he could make thereof, would onely be to put himselfe in a great forwardnesse for running mad, by ouerwatching himselfe, the coldnesse and moistnesse of our braine beeing the onely ordinarie meanes that procure our sleepe and rest. Indeed I do not denie, but when it falls out that any of these, or any part of our bodie growes to be distempered, and to tend to an extremitie, beyond the compasse of Natures temperate mixture, that in that case cures of contrary qualities, to the intemperate inclination of that part, being wisely prepared and discretely ministered, may be both necessarie and helpfull for strenghtning and assisting Nature in the expulsion of her enemies: for this is the true definition of all profitable Physicke.

But first these Cures ought not to bee vsed, but where there is neede of them, the contrarie whereof, is daily practised in this generall vse of *Tobacco* by all sorts and complexions of people.

And next, I deny the Minor of this argument, as I haue already said, in regard that this *Tobacco*, is not simply of a dry and hot qualitie; but rather hath a certaine venemous facultie ioyned with the heate thereof, which makes it haue an Antipathie against nature, as by the hatefull smell thereof doeth well appeare. For the Nose being the proper Organ and conuoy of the sense of smelling to the braines, which are the onely fountaine of that sense, doeth euer serue vs for an infallible witnessse, whether that Odour which we smell, be healthfull or hurtfull to the braine (except when it falls out that the sense it selfe is corrupted and abused through some infirmitie, and distemper in the braine.) And that the suffumigation thereof cannot haue a drying qualitie, it needes no further probation, then that it is a smoake, all smoake and vapour, being of it selfe humide, as drawing neere to the nature of the ayre, and easie to be resolued againe into water, whereof there needes no other prooffe but the Meteors, which being bred of nothing else but of the vapours and ex-

halations sucked vp by the Sunne out of the earth, the Sea, and waters yet are the same smoakie vapours turned, and transformed into Raynes, Snowes, Deawes, hoare Frostes, and such like waterie Meteors, as by the contrarie the raynie cloudes are often transformed and euaporated in blustering winds.

The second Argument grounded on a shew of reason is, That this filthie smoake, aswell through the heat and strength thereof, as by a naturall force and qualitie, is able and fit to purge both the head and stomacke of Rhewmes and distillations, as experience teacheth, by the spitting and auoyding fleame, immediately after the taking of it. But the fallacie of this Argument may easily appeare, by my late preceding description of the Meteors. For euen as the smoakie vapours sucked vp by the Sunne, and staied in the lowest and colde Region of the ayre, are there contracted into cloudes and turned into raine and such other watery Meteors: So this stinking smoake being sucked vp by the Nose, and imprisoned in the colde and moyst braines, is by their colde and wett facultie, turned and cast forth againe in waterie distillations, and so are you made free and purged of nothing, but that wherewith you wilfully burdened your selues: and therefore are you no wiser in taking *Tobacco* for purging you of distillations, then if for preuenting the Cholike you would take all kinde of windie meates and drinkes, and for preuenting of the Stone, you would take all kinde of meates and drinkes that would breede grauell in the Kidneyes, and then when you were forced to auoyde much winde out of your stomacke, and much grauell in your Vrine, that you should attribute the thanke thereof to such nourishments as bred those within you, that behoued either to be expelled by the force of Nature, or you to haue *burst at the broad side*, as the Prouerbe is.

As for the other two reasons founded vpon experience, the first of which is, That the whole people would not haue taken so generall a good liking there-

of, if they had not by experience found it verie foueraigne and good for them : For anfwere thereunto how easly the mindes of any people, wherewith God hath replenished this world, may be drawen to the foolish affectation of any noueltie, I leaue it to the discret iudgement of any man that is reasonable.

Doe we not dayly see, that a man can no fooner bring ouer from beyond the Seas any new forme of apparell, but that hee can not bee thought a man of spirit, that would not presently imitate the same? And so from hand to hand it spreads, till it be practised by all, not for any commoditie that is in it, but only because it is come to be the fashion. For such is the force of that naturall Selfe-loue in euery one of vs, and such is the corruption of enuie bred in the brest of euery one, as we cannot be content vnlesse we imitate euery thing that our fellowes doe, and so prooue our selues capable of euery thing whereof they are capable, like Apes, counterfeiting the maners of others, to our owne destruction. For let one or two of the greatest Masters of Mathematickes in any of the two famous Vniuersities, but constantly affirme any cleare day, that they see some strange apparition in the skies : they will I warrant you be seconded by the greatest part of the Students in that profession : So loath will they be, to bee thought inferiour to their fellowes, either in depth of knowledge or sharpnesse of sight : And therefore the generall good liking and imbracing of this foolish custome, doeth but onely proceede from that affectation of noueltie, and popular error, whereof I haue already spoken.

The other argument drawen from a mistaken experience, is but the more particular probation of this generall, because it is alleaged to be found true by prooffe, that by the taking of *Tobacco* diuers and very many doe finde themselues cured of diuers diseases as on the other part, no man euer receiued harme thereby. In this argument there is first a great mistaking and next a monstrous absurditie. For is it not a very great mistaking, to take *Non causam pro causa*,

as they say in the Logicks? because peradventure when a sicke man hath had his disease at the height, hee hath at that instant taken *Tobacco*, and afterward his disease taking the naturall course of declining, and consequently the patient of recouering his health, O then the *Tobacco* forsooth, was the worker of that miracle. Beside that, it is a thing well knowne to all Phisicians, that the apprehension and conceit of the patient hath by wakening and vniting the vitall spirits, and so strengthening nature, a great power and vertue, to cure diuers diseases. For an euident prooue of mistaking in the like case, I pray you what foolish boy, what fillie wench, what olde doting wife, or ignorant countrey clowne, is not a Phisician for the toothach, for the cholicke, and diuers such common diseases? Yea, will not euery man you meete withal, teach you a fundry cure for the same, and sweare by that meane either himselfe, or some of his neereft kinsmen and friends was cured? And yet I hope no man is so foolish as to beleue them. And all these toyes do only proceed from the mistaking *Non causam pro causa*, as I haue already sayd, and so if a man chance to recouer one of any disease, after he hath taken *Tobacco*, that must haue the thankes of all. But by the contrary, if a man smoke himselfe to death with it (and many haue done) O then some other disease must beare the blame for that fault. So doe olde harlots thanke their harlotrie for their many yeeres, that custome being healthfull (say they) *ad purgandos Renes*, but neuer haue minde how many die of the Pockes in the flower of their youth. And so doe olde drunkards thinke they prolong their dayes, by their swinelike diet, but neuer remember howe many die drowned in drinke before they be halfe olde.

And what greater absurditie can there bee, then to say that one cure shall serue for diuers, nay, contrarious sortes of diseases? It is an vndoubted ground among all Phisicians, that there is almost no sort either of nourishment or medicine, that hath not some thing in it disagreeable to some part of mans bodie, be-

caufe, as I haue already fayd, the nature of the temperature of euery part, is fo different from another, that according to the olde prouerbe, That which is good for the head, is euill for the necke and the fhoulders. For euen as a ftrong enimie, that inuades a towne or fortrefse, although in his fiege thereof, he do belaie and compaffe it round about, yet he makes his breach and entrie, at fome one or few fpecial parts thereof, which hee hath tried and found to bee weakeft and leaft able to refift; fo fickenefse doth make her particular affault, vpon fuch part or parts of our bodie, as are weakeft and eafieft to be ouercome by that fort of difeafe, which then doth affaile vs, although all the reft of the body by Sympathie feele it felfe, to be as it were belaid, and befieged by the affliction of that fpecial part, the grieffe and fmart thereof being by the fence of feeling difperfed through all the reft of our members. And therefore the skilfull Phifician preffes by fuch cures, to purge and ftrengthen that part which is afflicted, as are only fit for that fort of difeafe, and doe beft agree with the nature of that infirme part; which being abufed to a difeafe of another nature, would prooue as hurtfull for the one, as helpfull for the other. Yea, not only will a skilfull and warie Phifician bee carefull to vfe no cure but that which is fit for that fort of difeafe, but he wil alfo confider all other circumftances, and make the remedies futable thereunto: as the temperature of the clime where the Patient is, the conftitution of the Planets, the time of the Moone, the feafon of the yere, the age and complexion of the Patient, and the present ftate of his body, in ftrength or weakenefse. For one cure muft not euer be vfed for the felf-fame difeafe, but according to the varying of any of the foresaid circumftances, that fort of remedie muft be vfed which is fitteft for the fame. Whear by the contrarie in th is cafe, fuch is the miraculous omnipotencie of our ftrong tasted *Tobacco*, as it cures all forts of difeafes (which neuer any drugge could do before) in all perfons, and at all times. It

cures all maner of distillations, either in the head or stomacke (if you beleue their Axiomes) although in very deede it doe both corrupt the braine, and by causing ouer quicke digestion, fill the stomacke full of crudities. It cures the Gowt in the feet, and (which is miraculous) in that very instant when the smoke thereof, as light, flies vp into the head, the vertue thereof, as heauie, runs downe to the little toe. It helps all sorts of Agues. It makes a man sober that was drunke. It refreshes a weary man, and yet makes a man hungry. Being taken when they goe to bed, it makes one sleepe soundly, and yet being taken when a man is sleepe and drowfie, it will, as they say, awake his braine, and quicken his vnderstanding. As for curing of the Pockes, it serues for that vse but among the pockie Indian slaues. Here in *England* it is refined, and will not deigne to cure heere any other then cleanly and gentlemanly diseases. O omnipotent power of *Tobacco*! And if it could by the smoke thereof chace out deuils, as the smoke of *Tobias* fish did (which I am sure could smel no stronglier) it would serue for a precious Relicke, both for the superstitious Priests, and the insolent Puritanes, to cast out deuils withall.

Admitting then, and not confessing that the vse thereof were healthfull for some sortes of diseases; should it be vsed for all sicknesses? should it be vsed by all men? should it be vsed at all times? yea should it be vsed by able, yong, strong, healthful men? Medicine hath that vertue, that it neuer leaueth a man in that state wherin it findeth him: it makes a sicke man whole, but a whole man sicke. And as Medicine helps nature being taken at times of necessitie, so being euer and continually vsed, it doth but weaken, wearie, and weare nature. What speake I of Medicine? Nay let a man euery houre of the day, or as oft as many in this countrey vse to take *Tobacco*, let a man I say, but take as oft the best sorts of nourishments in meate and drinke that can bee deuised, hee shall with the continuall vse thereof weaken both his head and his

stomacke: all his members shall become feeble, his spirits dull, and in the end, as a drowfie lazie belly-god, he shall euanish in a Lethargie.

And from this weaknesse it proceeds, that many in this kingdome haue had such a continuall vse of taking this vnfaurie smoke, as now they are not able to forbear the same, no more then an olde drunkard can abide to be long sober, without falling into an vncurable weaknesse and euill constitution: for their continuall custome hath made to them, *habitum, alteram naturam*: so to those that from their birth haue bene continually nourished vpon poison and things venemous, wholesome meates are onely poisonable.

Thus hauing, as I truste, sufficiently answered the most principall arguments that are vsed in defence of this vile custome, it rests onely to informe you what finnes and vanities you commit in the filthie abuse thereof. First, are you not guiltie of sinnefull and shamefull lust? (for lust may bee as well in any of the senses as in feeling) that although you bee troubled with no disease, but in perfect health, yet can you neither be merry at an Ordinarie, nor lasciuious in the Stewes, if you lacke *Tobacco* to prouoke your appetite to any of those sorts of recreation, lusting after it as the children of Israel did in the wildernesse after Quailes? Secondly it is, as you vse or rather abuse it, a branche of the sinne of drunkennesse, which is the roote of all finnes: for as the onely delight that drunkards take in Wine is in the strength of the taste, and the force of the fume thereof that mounts vp to the braine: for no drunkards loue any weake, or sweete drinke: so are not those (I meane the strong heate and the fume) the onely qualities that make *Tobacco* so delectable to all the louers of it? And as no man likes strong headie drinke the first day (because *nemo repente fit turpissimus*) but by custome is piece and piece allured, while in the ende, a drunkard will haue as great a thirst to bee drunke, as a sober man to quench his thirst with a draught when hee hath need of it: So is not this the very case of all the great takers of *Tobacco*? which

therefore they themfelues do attribute to a bewitching qualitie in it. Thirdly, is it not the greateft finne of all, that you the people of all fortes of this Kingdome, who are created and ordeined by God to beftowe both your perfons and goods for the maintenance both of the honour and fafetie of your King and Commonwealth, fhould difable your felues in both? In your perfons hauing by this continuall vile cuftome brought your felues to this fhameful imbecilitie, that you are not able to ride or walke the iourney of a Iewes Sabboth, but you muft haue a reekie cole brought you from the next poore houfe to kindle your *Tobacco* with? whereas he cannot be thought able for any feruice in the warres, that cannot endure oftentimes the want of meate, drinke and fleepe, much more then muft hee endure the want of *Tobacco*. In the times of the many glorious and victorious battailes fought by this Nation, there was no word of *Tobacco*. But now if it were time of warres, and that you were to make fome fudden *Caualcado* vpon your enemies, if any of you fhould feeke leifure to ftay behinde his fellowe for taking of *Tobacco*, for my part I fhould neuer bee forie for any euill chance that might befall him. To take a cuftome in any thing that cannot bee left againe, is moft harmefull to the people of any land. *Mollicies* and delicacie were the wracke and ouerthrow, firft of the Perfian, and next of the Romane Empire. And this very cuftome of taking *Tobacco* (whereof our preſent purpoſe is) is euen at this day accounted ſo effeminate among the Indians themfelues, as in the market they will offer no price for a flauē to be ſold, whome they finde to be a great *Tobacco* taker.

Now how you are by this cuftome difabled in your goods, let the Gentry of this land beare witneſſe, ſome of them beſtowing three, ſome foure hundred pounds a yeere vpon this precious ſlinke, which I am ſure might be beſtowed vpon many farre better vſes. I read indeede of a knauifh Courtier, who for abuſing the fauour of the Emperour *Alexander Seuerus* his Maſter by taking bribes to intercede, for fundry per-



sons in his Masters eare, (for whom he neuer once opened his mouth) was iustly choked with smoke, with this doome, *Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit*: but of so many smoke-buyers, as are at this present in this kingdome, I neuer read nor heard.

And for the vanities committed in this filthie custome, is it not both great vanitie and vncleanenesse, that at the table, a place of respect, of cleanlinesse, of modestie, men should not be ashamed, to sit tossing of *Tobacco pipes*, and puffing of the smoke of *Tobacco* one to another, making the filthy smoke and stinke thereof, to exhale athwart the dishes, and infect the aire, when very often, men that abhorre it are at their repast? Surely Smoke becomes a kitchin far better then a Dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchin also oftentimes in the inward parts of men, foiling and infecting them, with an vnctuous and oily kinde of Soote, as hath bene found in some great *Tobacco* takers, that after their death were opened. And not onely meate time, but no other time nor action is exempted from the publike vse of this vnciuill trick: so as if the wiues of *Diepe* list to contest with this Nation for good maners their worst maners would in all reason be found at least not so dishonest (as ours are) in this point. The publike vse whereof, at all times, and in all places, hath now so farre preuailed, as diuers men very sound both in iudgement, and complexion, haue bene at last forced to take it also without desire, partly because they were ashamed to seeme singular, (like the two Philosophers that were forced to duck themselues in that raine water, and so become fooles aswell as the rest of the people) and partly, to be as one that was content to eat Garlicke (which hee did not loue) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it, in the breath of his fellowes. And is it not a great vanitie, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they must bee in hand with *Tobacco*? No it is become in place of a cure, a point of good fellowship, and he that will refuse to take a pipe of *Tobacco* among his fellowes, (though by his own election he would

rather feele the fauour of a Sinke) is accounted peeuisſh and no good company, euen as they doe with tippeling in the cold Eaſterne Countries. Yea the Miſtreſſe cannot in a more manerly kinde, entertaine her ſeruant, then by giuing him out of her faire hand a pipe of *Tobacco*. But herein is not onely a great vanitie, but a great contempt of Gods good giſtes, that the ſweeteneſſe of mans breath, being a good gift of God, ſhould be willfully corrupted by this ſtinking ſmoke, wherein I muſt confeſſe, it hath too ſtrong a vertue: and ſo that which is an ornament of nature, and can neither by any artifice be at the firſt acquired, nor once loſt, be recouered againe, ſhall be filthily corrupted with an incurable ſtinke, which vile qualitie is as directly contrary to that wrong opinion which is holden of the wholeſomneſſe thereof, as the venime of putrifaction is contrary to the vertue Preſeruatiue.

Moreouer, which is a great iniquitie, and againſt all humanitie, the husband ſhall not bee aſhamed, to reduce thereby his delicate, wholeſome, and cleane complexioned wife, to that extremitie, that either ſhee muſt alſo corrupt her ſweete breath therewith, or elſe reſolue to liue in a perpetuall ſtinking torment.

Haue you not reaſon then to bee aſhamed, and to forbear this filthie noueltie, ſo baſely grounded, ſo fooliſhly receiued and ſo groſſely miſtaken in the right uſe thereof? In your abuſe thereof ſinuing againſt God, harming your ſelues both in perſons and goods, and raking alſo thereby the markes and notes of vanitie vpon you: by the cuſtome thereof making your ſelues to be wondered at by all forraine ciuil Nations, and by all ſtrangers that come among you, to be ſcorned and contemned. A cuſtome lothſome to the eye, hatefull to the Noſe, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the Lungs, and in the blacke ſtinking fume thereof, neereſt reſembling the horrible Stigian ſmoke of the pit that is  
 bottomeleſſe.

The foregoing Invective was written by the King of Great Britain. How early its royal authorship was avowed, I know not: but it was generally known long before its insertion in the collected edition of the King's *Workes*, published in 1616.

But King James stopped not, in his Crusade against Tobacco, at words. In the following *Commissio pro Tabacco* he added Fines and Blows.

JAMES, by the grace of God &c. to our right Trustie and right Welbeloued Cousen and Counsellor, *Thomas Earle of Dorset* our High Treasurer of Englande, Greetinge.

Whereas *Tabacco*, being a Drugges of late Yeres found out, and by Merchants, as well Denizens as Strangers, brought from forreign Partes in small quantitie into this Realm of England and other our Dominions, was used and taken by the better sort both then and nowe onely as Phisicke to preserve Health, and is now at this Day, through evell Custome and the Toleration thereof, excessivelie taken by a number of ryotous and disordered Persons of meane and base Condition, whoe, contrarie to the use which Persons of good Callinge and Qualitie make thereof, doe spend most of there tyme in that idle Vanitie, to the evill example and corrupting of others, and also do consume that Wages whiche manye of them gett by their Labour, and wherewith there Families should be releived, not caring at what Price they buye that Drugges, but rather devisinge how to add to it other Mixture, thereby to make it the more delightfull to their Taste, though so much the more costly to there Purse; by which great and imoderate takinge of *Tabacco* the Health of a great number of our People is impayred, and their Bodies weakened and made unfit for Labor, the Estates of many mean Persons soe decayed and consumed as they are thereby dryven to unthrifitie Shifts onelie to maynteyne their gluttonous exercise thereof, besides that also a great part of the Treasure of our Lande is spent and exhausted by this onely Drugges so licentiously abused by the meaner sorte, all which enormous Inconveniencies ensuinge thereupon We doe well perceave to proceed principally from the great quantitie of *Tabacco* daily brought into this our Realm of England and Dominions of Wales from the Partes beyond the Seas by Merchautes and others, which Excesse We conceive might in great part be restrayned by some good Imposition to be laid upon it, whereby it is likelie that a lesse Quantitie of *Tabacco* will hereafter be broughte into this our Realm of England, Dominion of Wales and Town of Barwick then in former tymes, and yet sufficient store to serve for their necessarie use who are of the better sort, and have and will use the same with Moderation to preserve their Health;

We do therefore will and command you our Treasurer of Englande, and hereby also warrant and authorise you to geve order to all Customers Comptrollers Searchers Surveyors, and other Officers of our Portes, that, from and after the sixe and twentieth Day of October next comyng, they shall demaunde and take to our use of all Merchautes, as well Englishe as Strangers, and of all others whoe shall bringe in anye *Tabacco* into this Realme, within anye Porte Haven or Creek belonging to anye their severall Charges, the Somme of *Six Shillinges and eighte Pence* upon everye Pound Waight thereof, over and above the Custome of *Twoo Pence* upon the Pounds Waight usuallie paide heretofore;

And for the better execution hereof, bothe in the Reformation of the saide Abuses, and for the avoydinge of all Fraude and Decepte concerninge the Paymente of the saide Imposition and Custome, Our Will and Pleasure is that you shall in our Name straightlye charge and commaunde all Collectors Customers Comptrollers Surveyors, and other Officers whatsoever to whome the same maye belonge, that they suffer noe Entries to be made of anye *Tabacco* at anye tyme hereafter to be broughte into anye Porte Haven or Creeke within this our Realme of Englande, and Dominion of Wales, and

Towne of Barwicke, or anye parte of the same, by anye Englishe or Stranger, or anye other Personne whatsoever, before the saide Custome and Imposition before specified be firste satisfied and paide, or Composition made for the same with our saide Customers, Collectors, or other Officers to whome the enme apperteyneth, uppon Payne that if anye Merchaunte Englishe or Straunger, or other whatsoever, shall presume to bringe in anye of the saide *Tabacco*, before suche Payement and Satisfactione firste made, That then he shall not onelie forfeite the saide *Tabacco*, but alsoe shall undergoe suche further Penalties and corporall Punishmente as the Qualitie of suche soe highe a Contempte against our Royall and expresse Commaundement in this mannere published shall deserve.

Wytnes our self at *Westminster* the seaventeenth Day of October. [1604].

*Per ipsum Regem.*

Rymer *Fadera*, xvi. 601. Ed. 1715.

Sir ROBERT AYTON [b. 1570—d. an unmarried man in 1638] left among his MSS. the following Sonnet, first printed among his *Poems*, Edinburgh, 1844. Ed. by C. Roger.

ON TOBACCO.

Forsaken of all comforts but these two,  
My faggot and my pipe, I sit and muse  
On all my crosses, and almost accuse  
The Heav'ns for dealing with me as they do.  
Then Hope steps in, and with a smiling brow  
Such cheerful expectations doth infuse  
As makes me think ere long I cannot choose  
But be some grandee, whatsoever I'm now.  
But having spent my pipe, I then perceive  
That hopes and dreams are cousins—both deceive.  
Then mark I this conclusion in my mind,  
It's all one thing—both tend into one scope—  
To live upon Tobacco and on Hope,  
The one's but smoke, the other is but wind. p. 53.

1606. "The copy of a Letter written by E. D. Doctour of Physicke to a Gentleman, by whom it was published. The former part containeth *Rules for the preservation of health, and preventing of all diseases until extreme olde age*. Herein is inserted the *Authours opinion of Tabacco*." . . .

E. D. argues that Tabacco is (1) not safe for youth : (2) it shorteneth life : (3) it breedeth many diseases : (4) it breedeth melancholy : (5) it hurteth the minde : (6) it is ill for the Smokers' issue : (7) it shorteneth life : and

"To conclude, sith it is so hurtfull and dangerous to youth, I wish (in compassion of them) that it might haue the pernicious nature expressed in the name, and that it were as well known by the name of Youths-bane, as by the name of Tabacco." pp. 3-5.

1607. *A sixe-folde Politician*, by I[OHN] M[ELTON], has the following allusion to Tobacco Smoking :—

And as the enterludes may be tearmed, the Schoole-houses of vanitie, and wantonnes ; so these [vaine poets and plaiers] are the schoolemaisters thereof : and methinks they (who haue tasted of the sweete fountaine water, running from their Academick mothers breasts, by this, if nothing else) shold be deterred from their scribbling profession, that they see their writings and conceits sold at a common doore to euery base companion for a penny. But most of their conceits are too deere at that rate, and therefore may well bee had in the same request that Tobacco is now, which was wont to be taken of

great gentlemen, and gallants, now made a frequent and familiar Companion of every Tapster and Horse-keeper. And their conceits are likest Tobacco of any thing: for as that is quickly kindled, makes a stinking smoake, and quickly goes out, but leaues and inhering stinke in the nostrils and stomackes of the takers, not to be drawne out, but by putting in a worse saour, as of Onions and Garlick, (according to the prouerbe: so the smel of Garlick takes away the stink of dunghils,) so the writing of ordinarye Play-bookes, Pamphlets, and such like, may be tearmed the mushrum conceptions of idle braines, moste of them are begotte ouer night in Tobacco smoake and muld-sacke, and vttered and deliuered to the worlds presse by the helpe and midwifery of a caudle the next morning. pp. 34-36.

*Conceits sauoring of no indgement or studdie like Tobacco smoke.*

1610. (1.) 'E[DMUND] G[ARDINER]. Gent. and Practitioner in Physicke,' wrote a medical defence, under the title of *The Triall of Tabacco. Whereiu, his worth is most worthily expressed, as, in the name, nature, and qualitie of the sayd hearb, his speciall vse in all Physicke, with the true and right vse of taking it, &c.* . . .

(2.) Under this year may also be put—GEORGE SANDYS. *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure Bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote parts of Italy, and Islands adioyning.* London. 1615.

The *Turkes* are also incredible takers of *Opium*, whereof the lesser *Asia* affordeth them plenty: carrying it about them both in peace and in warre; which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them couragious: but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers; by them, as should seeme by what hath bene said, religiously affected. And perhaps for the selfe same cause they also delight in Tobacco; they take it through reeds that haue ioyned vnto them great heads of wood to containe it: I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English: and were it not sometimes lookt into (for *Morat Bassa* not long since commanded a pipe to be thrust through the nose of a *Turke*, and so to be led in derision through the Citie,) no question but it would proue a principall commodity. Neuerthesse they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in England is not saleable, doth passe here amongst them for most excellent. Bk. I. p. 66.

So England took Tobacco first to Turkey.

1611. *Perfuming of Tobacco, and the great Abuse committed in it.* See Lowndes.

1614. (1.) WILLIAM BARCLAY, M.A., M.D., published at Edinburgh,—what was perhaps the first flat contradiction to the *Counterblaste*—viz.: *Nepenthes, or the Vertues of Tabacco.* This tract—which I should, had space permitted, have been glad to have entirely reprinted here—was published by the Spalding Club in their *Miscellany*, i. pp. 257-274. It begins thus—

HERCVLES to obey the commandement and will of IVNO, busied himselfe to ouerthrow the most famous monsters of his tunc, his Armes were a bagge and a club. A most worthie Ladie, and, if I durst say so, the very IVNO of our Ile hath commanded me to destroy some monstrous Diseases so that to imitate the most chiualous Chifan of the worlde, I haue armed my selfe with a boxe for his bagge, and a pipe for his club: a boxe to conserue my *Tabacco*, and a pipe to vse it, by those two Godwilling, to ouercome many maladiés. If the hostes of such Diseases do not betray my endeoures to their hating and hated guests by not vsing or abusing my weapons. But before I enter in the list, I must whet as it were my wits with these two points, First why doe I treat of a matter so often handled by so many, so odious to Princes, so pernicious to sundrie, and so costly to all?

Secondly why doe I as another *CLODIVS* reueale *mysteria bonæ Deæ*, and prophane the secrets of Physicke? I answere that a good matter is not the worse to be maintained by many: and *Plus vident oculi quam oculus*. As concerning the hatred of Princes, one mans meate is another mans poison. The wine prince of liquors hateth vehemently colworts, and yet beere, aile, sider water, oyle, honey, and all other liquors doe well agree with colworts. The king of *France* drinketh neuer *Orleans* wine notwithstanding his subjects doe loue it well.

I know sundrie men that haue such Antipathie with butter that they dare not smell it. It hath bene pernicious to sundrie I grant it, so hath wine, so hath bread, so hath gold, so hath land, and what so wholsome thing is that cannot be turned to abuse? If it be costly vse the lesse of it. What? is not *Rhenbarbe* coastly? is not *Muske* coastly? is not *Ambergreece* coastly? As touching the second point of my reuealing this secret of Physicke, I answere, I mean but to reforme the harme which proceedeth of the abuse, and to shew to my countrey men that I am more willing to pleasure them then to profite my selfe, neither did I sweare to conceale that point when in a robe of purple I wedded the metamorphosed *DAPHNE*. It resteth now to vnfold what moued me to entitule this treatise *Nepenthes*, because it hath certaine mellifluous delicacie, which deliteth the senses, and spirits of man with a mindful obliuion, insomuch that it maketh and induceth *κακῶν ἐπιζηθον ἅ πάντων* the forgetting of all sorrowes and miseries. And there is such hostility betwene it and melancholie, that it is the only medicament in the world ordained by nature to entertaine good companie: insomuch that it worketh neuer so well, as when it is giuen from man to man, as a pledge of friendship and amitie.

[The countrey which God hath honoured and blessed with this happie and holy herbe, doth call it in the natiue language *Petum*, the Spaniards, who haue giuen it the right of naturalitie in their soyle, terme it *Tabacco*, the Frenchmen which haue receiued it in their countrey as in a colonie call it *Nicotian*, in this our Ile of *Brittaine*, as in all other maritime parts, we vse the Spanish name of *Tabacco*. But esteeming it worthie of a more loftie name, I haue chosen for gossip the faire and famous *Helena*, and giuen to her the honour to name this most profitable plant, *Nepenthes*.

Albeit this herbe disdaines not to be nourished in many gardens in *Spaine*, in *Italie*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Germanie* and *Brittaine*, yet neuertheless only that which is fostered in *India* and brought home by Mariners and Traffiquers is to be vsed, as after you shall heare the reason is.

*Non omnis fert omnia tellus.*

But auarice and greedines of gaine haue moued the Marchants to apparell some *European* plants with *Indian* coats, and to enstall them in shops as righteous and legitime *Tabacco* . . . . So that the most fine, best, and purest is that which is brought to *Europe* in leaues, and not rolled in puddings, as the English Navigators first brought home. . . .

In *Tabacco* there is nothing which is not medecin, the root, the stalke, the leaues, the seeds, the smoke, the ashes, and to be more particular, *Tabacco* may serue for the vse of man either greene or dry. . . .

To the cure and peregrination of an armie of maladies, *Tabacco* must be used after this maner. Take of leafe *Tabacco* as much as being folded together, may make a round ball of such bignesse that it may fill the patient's mouth, and inclyne his face downward towards the ground, keeping the mouth open, not mouing a whit with his tongue, except now and then to waken the medicament, there shall flow such a flood of water from his brain and his stomacke, and from all parts of his body that it shall be a wonder. This he must do fasting in the morning, and if it be for preseruatiou, and the body very cacochyme, or full of euil humours, he must take it once a weeke, otherwise once a month: But if it bee to cure the *Epilepsie* or *Hydropisie* once euery day. Thus haue I vsed *Tabacco* my self, and thus vsed *Tabacco*, *Jean Greis* a venerable old man at *Nantes* in the French Britain, who liued whill he was six score yeares of age, and who was known for the only refuge of the poore afflicted souldiers of *Venus* when they were wounded with the French Pickes, I should haue said Pockes. Thus much for the vse

of *Tabacco* in substance. As concerning the smoke, it may be taken more frequently, and for the said effects, but always fasting, and with an emptie stomach, not as the English abuses do, which make a smoke-boxe of their skull, more fit to be caried vnder his arme that selleth at Paris, *dunoir a noircir* to blacke men's shoes, then to carie the braine of him that can not walke, can not ryde except the *Tabacco* Pype be in his mouth. I chanced in company on a tyne with an English merchant in *Normandie* betweene *Rowen* and *New-hauen*. This fellow was a merrie man, but at euery house he must haue a *Cole* to kindle his *Tabacco*: the Frenchmen wondered, and I laughed at his intemperancie. But there is one *William Alsop* an honest man dwelling in Bishops-gate street, hard within the gate that selleth the best *Tabacco* in *England*, and vseth it most discreetly. . . .

(2.) "*The Honestie of this Age*. Proouing by good circumstance that the world was neuer honest till now. By BARNABEE RYCH Gentleman, Seruant to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie." has the following.

But he that some fortie or fifty yeares sithens, should haue asked after a *Pickadilly*, I wonder who could haue vnderstood him, or could haue told what a *Pickadilly* had beene, either fish or flesh.

But amongst the trades that are newly taken vp, this trade of *Tobacco* doth exceede: and the money that is spent in smoake is vnknowne, and (I thinke) vnthought on, and of such a smoake as is more vaine, then the smoake of fayre words, for that (they say) will serue to feede *Fooles*, but this smoake maketh *Fooles* of *Wisemen*: mee thinks experience were enough to teach the most simple witted, that before *Tobacco* was euer knowne in *England*, that we liued in as perfect health, and as free from sicknesse, as we haue done sithens, and looke vpon those (whereof there are a number at this present houre) that did neuer take *Tobacco* in their liues, and if they doe not liue as healthsome in bodie, and as free from all manner of diseases, as those that doe take it fastest: they say it is good for a *Cold*, for a *Pose*, for *Rewms*, for *Aches*, for *Dropsies*, and for all manner of diseases proceeding of moyst humours: but I cannot see but that those that doe take it fastest, are asmuch (or more) subject to all these infirmities, (yea and to the poxe it selfe) as those that haue nothing at all to doe with it: then what a wonderfull expence might very well be spared, that is spent and consumed in this needlesse vanitie.

There is not so base a groome, that comes into an *Alehouse* to call for his pot, but he must haue his *pipe* of *Tobacco*, for it is a commoditie that is nowe as vendible in euery *Tauerne*, *Inne*, and *Ale house*, as eyther *Wine*, *Ale*, or *Beare*, and for *Apothecaries Shops*, *Grosers Shops*, *Chaunders Shops*, they are (almost) neuer without company, that from morning till night are still taking of *Tobacco*, what a number are there besides, that doe keepe houses, set open shoppes, that haue no other trade to liue by, but by the selling of *Tobacco*.

I haue heard it tolde that now very lately, there hath bin a *Cathalogue* taken of all those new erected houses that haue set vppe that Trade of selling *Tobacco*, in *London* and neare about *London*, and if a man may beleue what is confidently reported, there are found to be vpward of 7000. houses, that doth liue by that trade.

I cannot say whether they number *Apothecaries shoppes*, *Grosers shops*, and *Chaunders shops* in this computation, but let it be that these were thrust in to make vppe the number: let vs now looke a little into the *Vidimus* of the matter, and let vs cast vppe but a sleight account, what the expence might be that is consumed in this smoakie vapoure.

If it be true that there be 7000. shops, in and about *London*, that doth vent *Tobacco*, as it is credibly reported that there be ouer and aboue that number: it may well bee supposed, to be but an ill cūstomed shoppe, that taketh not fife shillings a day, one day with another, throughout the whole yeare, or if one doth take lesse, two other may take more: but let vs make our account, but after 2 shillings sixe pence a day, for he that taketh lesse than that, would be ill able to pay his rent, or to keepe open his *Shop Windowes*, neither

would *Tobacco* houses make such a muster as they doe, and that almost in euery Lane, and in euery by-corner round about *London*.

Let vs then reckon thus. 7000. halfe Crowns a day amounteth just to 31,9375 poundes a yeare. *Summa totalis*, All spent in *snoake*.

I doe not reckon now what is spent in *Tauernes*, in *Innes*, in *Alehouses*, nor what gentlemen doe spend in their owne houses and chambers, it would amount to a great reckoning, but if I cou'de deliuer truly what is spent throughout the whole Realme of England, in that idle vanitie, I thinke it woulde make a number of good people (that haue anie feare of God in them) to lanient, that such a masse of Treasure, should be so basely consumed, that might be employed to many better purposes.—*pp.* 25-27.

(3.) JOSHUA SYLVESTER, the translator of *Du Bartas*, wrote a poem, under the title of *Tobacco battered; and the Pipes shattered (About their Eares that idly Idolize so base and barbarous a Weed; or at least-wise ouer-loue so loathsome Vanitie:)* by *A Volley of holy Shot thundered from Mount Helicon*. The calibre of this *Invective* may be measured by its concluding lines—

How iuster will the Heau'nly GOD,  
Th' *Eternal*, punish with infernal Rod,  
In Hell's darke (Fornace, with black *Fumes*, to choak)  
Those, that on Earth will still offend in *Smoak*?  
Offend their Friends, with a Most *vn-Respect*:  
Offend their Wiues and Children, with Neglect:  
Offend the Eyes, with foule and loathsom Spawlings:  
Offend the Nose, with filthy *Fumes* exhaling:  
Offend the Eares, with lowd lewd *Execrations*:  
Offend the Mouth, with ougly *Excreations*:  
Offend the *Sense*, with stupefying *Sense*:  
Offend the Weake, to follow their *Offense*:  
Offend the Body, and offend the Minde:  
Offend the *Conscience* in a fearefull kinde:  
Offend their *Baptisme*, and their *Second Birth*:  
Offend the *Maiestie* of Heau'n and Earth.

Woe to the World because of Such *Offenses*;  
So voluntaire, so voyd of all pretenses  
Of all *Excuse* (saue *Fashion, Custome, Will*)  
In so apparant, proued, granted, *Ill*.  
Woe, woe to them by Whom *Offences* come,  
So scandalous to All our *CHRISTENDOME*.

1615. *An Advice howv to plant Tobacco in England: and how to bring it to colour and perfection, to whom it may be profitable, and to whom harmfull.* *The vertues of the Hearbe in generall, as well in the outward application as taken in FVME.* *With the danger of the Spanish Tobacco.* Written by C. T.

This work gives us a good idea of the rapid growth of Tobacco Smoking in England.

I haue heard it reported, by men of good iudgement, that there is paid out of England and Ireland, neere the value of two hundred thousand pounds euery yeare for Tobacco; and that the greatest part thereof is bought for ready money. Sure I am, that when our Englishmen for these seuen or eight yeares last past, traded for it at *Trinidado*, or in *Orenoque*, that great store of Gold, Siluer, Coine, and plate was carried hence, and giuen to the Spaniard there in exchange. For so greedy were our English of the Indian Tobacco, as where in the beginning of our traffique there, some yeares since, the Spaniards (as in all new plantations) were prest with all sorts of waits; and had neither clothes to couer them, nor shooes to tread on, nor bread to eate, and did therefore exchange their Tobacco for Fish. Wine, *Aqua-vitæ*, all sorts of lasting food, for woollen stockings, hats, treed. hatchets, and the like: they became in a short time so cloyd with all these commodities, as



nothing (some Silkes, and Cloath of Siluer and Gold excepted) but ready Money, and Siluer plate could content them.

This Trade therefore, where the Treasure of this land is vented for smoke, cannot but greatly preiudice the Common-weale: which although it were in some sort tollerable, by reason that many shippes and Mariners were employed, and that thereby wee kept our knowledge of the West Indies, and bred many sufficient Marriners: yet seeing the Spaniards haue now vtterly banished our Merchants, and put all to the sword, or to a more cruell death, which they can maister, or betray in those parts: I haue thought good, as well for the keeping within the Land of the Treasure before spoken of, then carried into the Indies, and now into Spaine, as for other respects hereafter remembered; to instruct those of our Nation how to sow, plant and perfect this drugg.

For besides the ill exchange made for this fantastickall merchandize, and besides, the extreame rate, and price of the Indian Tobacco, of which the greatest part is sold for ten times the value of pepper, and the best of it, weight for weight, for the finest siluer; it is hard to find one pound weight in fīue hundred, that is not sophisticate.

The naturall colour of Tobacco is a deepe yellow, or a light tawnie: and when the Indians themselues sold it vs for Kniues, Hatchets, Beads, Belles, and like merchandise, it had no other complexion, as all the Tobacco at this day hath, which is brought from the coast of Guiana, from Saint *Vincent's*, from Saint *Lucia*, from *Dominica*, and other places, where we buy it but of the naturall people, and all these sorts are cleane, and so is that of St. *Domingo*, where the Spaniards haue not yet learned the Art of Sophistication.

There is also a sort of Caraccas Tobacco, which the Indians make vp, and sell to the Spaniards, which is wholesome enough; but there comes little of it into England.

Now besides these harmefull mixtures, if our English which delight in Indian Tobacco, had seene how the Spanish slaues make it vp, how they dresse their sores, and pockie vlcers, with the same vnwasht hands with which they slubber and annoynt the Tobacco, and call it sauce *Per los perros Luteranos*, for *Lutheran* dogges, they would not so often draw it into their heads and through their noses as they doe: yea many a filthy sauour should they find therein, did not the smell of the hūny maister it, which smell euery man may plainly perceiue that takes of the blacke roll Tabacco, brought from *Orenoque*, *Trinidado*, and else-where.

**1616.** JOHN DEACON—who appears to have been another Phillip Stubbes—dedicated *Tobacco tortured; or the filthie fume of Tobacco refined*: to James I.

This work is in the form of a dialogue between *Capnistus* and *Hydrophorus*. It is divided into two parts: (1.) The Fume of Tobacco taken inward, is very pernicious vnto the Body. (2.) The Fume of Tobacco taken inward, is too too profluuius for many of our *Tobacconists* purfes, and most pernicious to the publike State.

The following extracts will show the nature of the work.

*Capn.* Alas poore *Tobacco*, my pretie *Tobacco*; thou that hast bene hitherto accepted the Ale-knights armes, the Beere-brewers badge, the Carousers crest, the Drunkards darling, the Draffe-sacks delight, the Easterlings ensigne, the Fantasticals foretresse, the Gormandizers glorie, the hungry Hostesses alepole, the Mad-braines merriment, the New-fangles noueltie, the Poope-noddies paramour, the Ruffians reflection, the Swil-boles swine-troffe, the Tinkers trull, the Tospots protection, the Vintners vintage, and the vnthrifts pasport: thou must now (I feare me) bee enforced forthwith to take thy farewell towards the vttermost parts of *India*, from whence thou were first transported to *England* by vicious and wild dispositions. . . . p. 57.

*Hydr.* First therefore for the exceeding high rate that this *Tobacco* hath euer bene at since the very first arriuall thereof into *England*, thou thy selfe, and all our *Tobacconists*, are able to say this of your owne proper knowledge:

namely, that the same hath vsually bene sold by the pound, for twentie nobles, five, foure, or three pounds: yea and when it came to the lowest price, it could not bee had vnder foure markes or fortie shillings, which amounteth to three shillings four pence an ounce at the least. Is not this (thinkest thou) an exceeding high rate for filthie *Tobacco*? . . . *p.* 61.

*Hydr.* Concerning therefore that former superfluous and riotous waste, which those *Tobacconists* do so wilfully make about their beastly *Tobacco fumes*, do tell me in good sādnesse, whether it be not a superfluous waste, for any man of great place, to paddle forth yearely one hundred pounds at the least, for an hundred gallons of filthy fumes? for a Gentleman of meaner condition, to be at fortie pound annuall expences, about bare fortie pottels of stinking flames, for a Yeoman, an Husbandman, an Artificer, a Trades-man, a Tinker, a Shoemaker, or a Cobbler, to bestow weekely some three shillings fourepence at the least, for but one onely ounce of fantastical fooleries? . . . *p.* 62.

*Hydr.* So as (by these meanes) they make great noble Persons, but single-soaled Gentlemen; well bred Gentelmen, but bare thredded Yeomen; bountifull Yeomen, but beggerly Husbandmen, hospitious Husbandmen, but shifting Trades-men, artificiose Trades-men but conicatching companions, conicatching companions, but vagabond rogues. Thus thou mayest plainly perceiue how these their intoxicating *Tobacco fumes* are able (in an vnperceivable and Circean manner) to transforme nobilitie into gentrie, gentrie into yeomanrie, yeomanrie into husbandry, husbandrie into maunuarie, manuarie into manubiarie, manubiarie into a vagrant and retchlesse roguerie, and what not besides? *p.* 65.

(2.) The *Counterblaste* was reprinted this year in Bishop Montagu's edition of James' *Workes*.

1616. Bishop Montagu published a Latin translation of the King's works: in which the *Counterblaste* appears as *Misocapnus, seu de Abusu Tabacci*. This provoked a Polish Jesuit to write *Antimisocapnus*, a tract which I have not met with.

We cannot better conclude these scattered notices, than with the following poem: sometimes called *Tobacco Spiritualized*: but which is evidently reprinted in *Two Broadfides*, &c. 1672: see No. 4, *p.* 6.

The *Indian Weed* withered quite,  
Green at Noon, cut down at Night;  
Shews thy decay, all Flesh is hay:  
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

The Pipe that is so lilly-white,  
Shews Thee to be a mortal Wight,  
And euen such gone with a touch:  
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

And when the Smoke ascends on high,  
Think thou behold'st the Vanity  
Of worldly stuff, gone with a puff:  
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

And when the Pipe grows foul within,  
Think on the Soul defil'd with Sin,  
And then the Fire it doth require:  
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

The Ashes that are left behind  
May serve to put thee still in mind,  
That unto Dust return thou must:  
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

Answered by *George Withers* thus,  
Thus think, drink no *Tobacco*.

# English Reprints.

5TH ADDRESS.

1ST DECEMBER 1869.

*Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.*

**T**HE assumption, in May last, of the publication in addition to the editing of the Series; while it has ensured its perpetuation and increase, has inevitably somewhat slackened the appearance of new works. Nevertheless in the present year, 9 Reprints containing about 1350 pages will have been issued, as compared with 12 Reprints and 1592 pages in 1868. The aggregate 21 books containing the entire texts of 33 publications originally printed between 1482 and 1712, A.D.

In addition: the Large Paper Edition has been commenced and brought down to *The Monk of Evesham*. Many lovers of choice books have bestowed emphatic approval upon the issue in this form, quite apart from its very low price.

My most grateful thanks are due and tendered, for a large assistance and support constantly afforded to me, as well in the Production as in the Sales.

**L**OOKING forward: I have on this occasion to announce further growth in the Series; and in so doing to invite attention to sizes of pages and the like.

**I. Foolscap 8vo.** THE ORDINARY ISSUE. Seven Reprints, originally announced for this year, being carried on to 1870; I propose—unforeseen obstacles not preventing—undertaking, if possible, the following 8vo works, in the undermentioned order, and at the prices stated at pp. 8-14; which prices are approximate within a sixpence per work, as it is not easy to forecast exactly the varying expenses of so many books:—

W. HABINGTON. *Castara*. 1640.

R. ASCHAM. *The Scholemaster*. 1570.

Tottel's Miscellany. *Songes and Sonnettes* by H. HOWARD, and other. 1557

Rev. T. LEVER. *Sermons*. 1550.

W. WEBBE. *A Discourse of English Poetrie*. 1586.

Sir W. RALEIGH and G. MARKHAM. *The Fight in the 'Revenge.'* 1590-5.

T. SACKVILLE and T. NORTON. *Ferrex and Porrex*. 1560.

J. HALL. *Horæ Vacivæ*.

T. TUSSER. *Five Hundred Points of Husbandrie*. 1580.

MILTON. *Reason of Church Government*. 1641. *Letter to Hartlib*. 1644.

Rev. P. STUBBES. *The Anatomie of Abuses*. 1583.

Sir T. ELYOT. *The Governour*. 1531.

Two large works will be interpolated, when ready—the “Harmony of Bacon's *Essayes*,” 3s., which is partially done. This, when finished, will be followed by J. Howell's *Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ*, which will be issued at 6s. The prices in all instances being proportionate to the bulk of the work.

II. The *Foolscap 4to*, 'Large Paper Edition,' will be continued from time to time, at prices corresponding to the 8vo Issue.

I have now to introduce two new sizes.

III. *Demy 4to*. Previous to the first 'English Reprint'—Milton's *Areopagitica*—being sent to press, it was foreseen that the size then adopted—*scap. 8vo*—though possessing many advantages, would be inconvenient in cases where a Reprint would exceed 800 or 1000 pages in that size. Subsequent observation and experiment would seem to show *Demy 4to*, to be as small a form of page capable of carrying a host of letters, and yet at the same time clear, readable, handy and handsome, as may perhaps be found.

In this size, I purpose issuing, from time to time, works that now most of us never dream of possessing; either from the scarcity of the original texts, or the cost of any existing reprints. In fact, to reproduce an old folio or bulky quarto, at the price of an ordinary modern book; as 5s., 7s. 6d., 10s., 15s., and the like. The present scale of cheapness being maintained.

Initial letters have been specially engraved for these 4tos. One alphabet, from the Gothic designs of JUAN DE YCIAR in his scarce *Orthographias practicas*, published at Saragossa in 1548 and again in 1550: and other letters from those in use by our own early printers, from JOHN DAY to the two BARKERS. Altogether, with the best modern printing, these 4tos will be both beautiful and excessively cheap.

They will be issued in stiff covers, *uncut edges*.

Their contents will interest even more than their appearance. The pioneer volume, now in preparation, contains two translations, &c. by RICHARD EDEN: which are *criteria* as to the general Cosmical knowledge in England in 1553, and in 1555.

(1.) *The Treatyse of Newe India*, a translation from SEBASTIAN MUNSTER'S *Cosmographia*, was published at an anxious time in 1553. The English fleet, under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor—consisting of the *Bona Speranza*, 120 tons: the *Edward Bonaventure*, 160 tons; the *Bona Confidentia*, 90 tons—sent out 'by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, gouernor of the mysterie and companie of the marchants adventurers for the discouerie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknowen,' had not long left the English shores—Willoughby never to return—in its attempt to reach Cathay by the North-East. While there was no news, but a continual anxiety; Eden thus shows his purpose in his Dedication of this work:—

Yet sure I am aswel they which set forthe or take vpon them this viage, as also they which shal hereafter attempt ye lyke, may in this small boke as in a little glasse, see some cleare light, not only how to learne by the example, danmage, good successe, and aduentures of others, how to behaue them selues and direct theyr viage to their vtmost commoditie, but also if due successe herein should not chauce according vnto theyr hope and expectation (as oftentimes chanceth in great affaires) yet not for one foyle or fal, so to be dismayed as wyth shame and dishonor to leave with losse, but rather to the death to persist in a godly honeste, and lawful purpose, knowing that whereas one death is dewe to nature, the same is more honourably spent in such attemptes as may be to the glory of God and commoditie of our cuntrye, then in soft beddes at home, among the teares and weping of women.

(2.) Under the title of *The decades of the newe world or west India*,

Eden compiled a number of translations from the works of PETER MARTYR ANGLERIA, OVIEDO Y VALDES, LOPEZ DE GOMARA, PIGAFETTA and others : giving striking and *fresh* accounts of the discovery and subjection of the New World and of the Circumnavigation of the Globe. Intermixed with these ; are the first accounts of the two English voyages to Guinea in 1553 and 1554 ; and the earliest English notices of Russia, with the exception of the account of R. Chancellor's voyage, omitted by Eden because of Clement Adam's recent narration of it, from Chancellor's own mouth.

For the multifarious contents of this first Demy 4to Reprint—equal in quantity to over 1200 Fcap. 8vo pages—see *pp.* 4-6. The price will be 10s.

**IV. Imperial Folio.** Yet a fourth form for large illustrated works is in contemplation. The first Reprint in this size will be of a work which has nearly perished out of mind, but which strikingly illustrates a subject that thrills every Englishman.

The engraver AUGUSTINE RYTHER published in 1590 a somewhat condensed translation from the Italian of the Florentine PIETRO UBALDINI (formerly Illuminator to Edward VI., but then a resident in London), *Concerninge the Spanishe fleete inuadinge Englande in the yeare 1588 and ouerthrowne by Her Maiestie's Nauie, &c. &c.*

For this small 4to tract, Ryther engraved eleven Plates to scale, showing the positions of the fleets (by the representation of the ships) in the several actions. These plates are now being engraved in facsimile : and though the progress is slow, even to tediousness, I am in hopes that this volume will appear in 1870 ; and if possible be published for 10s. 6d.

It is therefore hoped, that, in one or other of these forms, the Series may be adequate to the production of any English book.

In conclusion : I shall as heretofore be thankful for any suggestions.

Every month or six weeks at most ought, to see some fresh Reprint. Should a longer interval occur : that is not to be imputed to an imaginary cessation of the Series, of which—the books now just clearing expenses—I have no anticipation whatever : but to my limited leisure time and to difficulties in production.

Once more I remit the Sales to the ceaseless advocacy of every Supporter.

These Reprints come to us, like Ships out of the darkness and oblivion of the Past, laden with a varied and precious freight. Exact transcripts of the English language, skilled productions of English minds, ancient deed-rolls of English heroes, and photographs of English manners, are their burden. The speech, thought, and work of Old England are thus being imported into these later ages. Of such wealth may there ever be Store and enough for all English-reading races, both for Now and Aye.

EDWARD ARBER.

Demy 4to.

*Will be ready about March 1870, in one Volume, 10s.*

## RICHARD EDEN.

I. A treatyse *OF THE NEWE INDIA, WITH OTHER NEW FOUNDE LANDES AND ISLANDS, ASWELL EASTWARDE AS WESTWARDE*, as they are knowen and found in these oure dayes, after the descripcion of SEBASTIAN MUNSTER, in his boke of vniuersall Cosmographie, &c. [London, 1553.]

1. Dedication to the Duke of Northumberland.
2. Rycharde Eden to the reader.
3. ¶ Of the newe India, as it is knowen and found in these our dayes. In the year of oure Lorde M.D.L.III. After the description of Sebastian Munster in his Booke of the vniuersall Cosmographie, *Libr. v. De terris Asia Maioris*. And translated into Englishe by Richard Eden.
4. ¶ Of the newe India and Ilandes in the West Ocean sea, how, when, and by whom they were found.

II. The First English Collection of Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries.—*THE DECADES OF THE NEW WORLD OR WEST INDIA, &c. &c.* [by Peter Martyr of Angleria.] [Translated, compiled, &c. by Richard Eden.] ¶ Londini, Anno 1555.

1. The [Dedicatory] Epistle [to King Philip and Queen Mary.]
2. Richard Eden to the Reader.
3. The [1st, 2d, and 3d only of the 8] Decades of the newe worlde or west India, Conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large lands and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean pertynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. In the which the diligent reader may not only consider what commoditie may hereby chaunce to the hole christian world in tyme to come, but also learne many secretes touchyng the lande, the sea, and the starres, very necessarie to be knowen to al such as shal attempte any nauigations, or otherwise haue delite to behold the strange and woonderful woorkes of god and nature. Wrytten in the Latine tounge by PETER MARTYR of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by RYCHARDE EDEN.

- (1) The first Decade [in ten Books]. *Of the Ocean.*
- (2) The second Decade [in ten Books.] *Of the supposed Continent or firme lande*
- (3) The Third Decade [in ten Books.] *The new south Ocean, &c. &c.*
- (4) *Of the Landes and Ilandes lately founde: and of the maners of the inhabit aunes of the same.*

4. The Bull of Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, granting to the Spaniards 'the Regions and Ilandes founde in the Weste Ocean' by them.
  5. *The Hystorie of the West Indies* by GONÇALO FERNADEZ OVIEDO Y VALDES.
- Of the ordinary navygation from Spayne to the Weste Indies.

Of twoo notable thynges as touchyng the West Indies: And of the great rychesse brought from thense into Spayne.

Of the mynes of golde, and the manner of workyng in theym.

Of the maner of fysshinge for perles.

Of the familiaritie which certeyne of the Indians haue wyth the deuyll, and how they receaue answere of hym of thynges to coome.

Of the temperature of the regions vnder or neare to the burnt lyne cauled *Torrída zona* or the Equinoctiall: and of the dyuers seasons of the yeare.

Of dyuers particular thynges, as woormes, serpentes, beastes, foules, trees, &c.

Of trees, fruites, and plantes.

Of Reedes or Canes.

Of venomous apples wherwith they poyson theyr arrowes.

Of fysshes and of the maner of fysshynge.

Of th[e]increase and decrease, (that is) rysyng and faullyng of our Ocean and South sea cauled the sea of *Sur*.

Of the strayght or narrowe passage of the lande lyng betweene the North and South sea, by the whiche spycyces may much sooner and easlyer be brought from the Isles of *Molucca* into Spayne by the West Ocean then by that way wherby the Portugales sayle into East India.

Howe thynges that are of one kynde, dyffer in orme and qualitie, accordyng to the nature of the place where they are engendred or growe. And of the beastes cauled Tygers.

Of the maners and customes of the Indians of the firme lande, and of theyr women.

Of the chiefe Ilandes *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*.

[firme lande.]

Of the lande of *Bacoeleos* cauled *Baccalarum*, situate on the North syde of the

## 6. Of other notable things gathered out of dyuers autors.

(1) Of the vniuersal carde and newe worlde.

(2) Of the vyage made by the Spanyardes rounde abowte the worlde [by Ferdinand MAGELHAENS: Written in Italian by ANTONIO PIGAFETTA.]

(3) Of the prices of precious stones and Spices, with theyr weightes and measures as they are accustomed to be soule bothe of the Moores and the gentyles: And of the places where they growe.

(4) The debate and stryfe betweene the Spanyardes and Portugales, for the diuision of the Indies and the trade of Spices. [Written in Spanish by FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA.]

(5) Of the Pole Antartike and the starres abowt the same, &c. [From AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, ANDREA DE CORSALI, ALOISIUS CADAMUSTUS.]

## 7. Of Moscouie and Cathay.

(1) A discourse of dyuers vyages and wayes by the whiche Spices, Precious stones, and golde were brought in owlde tyme from India into Europe and other partes of the world.

Also of the vyage to CATHAY and East India by the north sea: And of certeyne secreates touchyng the same vyage, declared by the duke of Moscouie his ambassadour to an excellent lerned gentelman of Italie, named GALEATIUS BUTRIGARIUS.

Lykewyse of the vyages of that woorthy owlde man Sebastian Cabote, yet liuyng in Englande, and at this present the gouernour of the company of the marchantes of Cathay in the cite of London. [STER and IACOBUS BASTALDUS.]

(2) A brieue description of Moscouia after the later wryters, as SEBASTIAN MUN-

(3) Of the North regions and of the moderate and continuall heate in coulde regions aswell in the nyght as in the day in soomer season. Also howe those regions are habitable to th[e]inhabitauntes of the same, contrary to th[e]opinion of the owlde wryters.

(4) The historie written in the latin toonge by PAULUS IOVUS bysshoppe of Nuceria in Italie, of the legation or ambassade of greate Basilius Prince of Moscouia, to pope Clement the. vii. of that name: In which is conteyned the description of Moscouia with the regions confininge abowte the same euen vnto the great and ryche Empire of Cathay. [SIGISMUNDUS LIBERUS.]

(5) Other notable thynges concernyng Moscouia gathered owt of the bookes of

[After which Eden tells us. "As concernyng Moscouia and Cathay, I was mynded to haue added hereunto dyuers other thynges, but that for certeyne considerations I was perswaded to procede no further. Vnto whose requeste, herein satisfyng rather other then my selfe, wyllynge otherwyse to haue accomplyssed this booke to further perfeccion, I was content to agree for two causes especially mouyng me whereof the one is, that as touchyng these trades and vyages, as in maner in al

other sciences, there are certeyne secretes not to bee publysshed and made common to all men. The other cause is, that the parteners at whose charge this booke is prynted, although the copy whereof they haue wrought a longe space haue cost them nought doo not neuerthesse cease dayly to caule vppon me to make an end and proceade no further; affirmyng that the booke wyll bee of to great a pryce and not euery mans money: fearyng rather theyr owne losse and hynderaunce, then carefull to bee beneficiall to other, as is now in manner the trade of all men. Which ordinarie respecte of priuate commoditie hath at thys tyme so lyttle moued me, I take god to wytnesse, that for my paynes and trauayles taken herein such as they bee, I may vppon iust occasion thynke my selfe a looser many wayes, except such men of good inclination as shall take pleasure and feele sum commoditie in the knowlege of these thynges, shall thynke me woorthy theyr good woorde, wherewith I shal repute my selfe and my trauayles so abundantly satsfyed, that I shal repute other mens gaynes a recompense for my losses, as they may bee indeede, yf men bee not vntankefull, which only vice of ingratitude hath hyndered the worlde of many benefites.”]

(6) The letters missiue of EDWARD VI. in 1553.

8. Other notable thynges as touchynge the Indies [chiefly out of the books of FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA, ‘and partly also out of the carde made by SEBASTIAN CABOT.’]

Of the foreknowledge that the poet Seneca had of the fyndynge this newe worlde and other regions not then known.

Of the great Ilande which Plato cauled Atlantica or Atlantide.

Of the colour of the Indians.

Why they were cauled Indians.

The fyrste discoverynge of the Weste Indies.

[ledge of the Indies.

What manner of man Chrystopher Colon was: and howe he came fyrst to the know-

What labour and trauayle Colon tooke in attemptyng his fyrst vyage to the Indies.

Of newe Spayne cauled Noua Hispana, or Mexico.

Of Peru.

Of the great ryuer cauled Rio de la Plata (that is) the ryuer of syluer.

Of the hygher East India cauled India Tercera or Treuera.

Of the landes of Laborador and Baccalaos, lyinge west and northwest from Eng-lande, and beinge parte of the firme lande of the West Indies.

The discoverynge of the lande of Floryda.

[about the same.

An opinion that Europa, Africa, and Asia, are Ilandes: and of certayne nauigations

That the Spanyardes haue sayled to the Antipodes (that is) suche as go fiete to fiete ageynst vs, &c.

Who fyrst founde the needle of the compasse, and the vse thereof.

The Situacion and byggenes of the earth.

What degrees are.

9. The Booke of Metals.

(1) Of the generation of metalles and theyr mynes with the maner of fyndynge the same: written in the Italien tounge by VANNUCCIUS BIRINGUEZIUS in his booke cauled *Pyrotechnia*.

(2) Of the myne of golde and the qualitie thereof in particular.

(3) Of the myne of siluer and the qualitie thereof.

(4) The maner of workynge in golde mynes of Egipte in owld tyme.

10. The description of the two viages made owt of England into Guinea in Affricke [in 1553, 1554].

[Eden here writes. “That these vyages to Guinea are placed after the booke of Metals as separate from other vyages, the cause hereof is, that after I had delyuered the sayde booke of metalles to the handes of the printers, I was desyred by certeyne my frendes to make summe mention of these viages, that sum memorie thereof myght remaine to our posteritie.” . . . . .

He thus concludes his description, “And to haue sayde thus much of these vyages t may suffice. For (as I haue sayd before) Whereas the parteners at whose charges this booke is prynted, wold longe sence haue me proceaded no further, I had not thought to haue written any thyng of these vyages but that the liberalitie of master Toy encouraged me to attempt the same. Which I speake not to the reproche of other in whome I thynke there lacked no good wyll, but that they thought the booke wolde be to chargeable.”]

11. The maner of fyndynge the Longitude of regions.



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	. . . London. 1 Maij. 1583.		
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5 0	<i>OF ABUSES</i> . . . . London. 1583. . . . .	2 0	} Stubbes. } Vol. } Elyot. }
	<b>33. Sir Thomas Elyot.</b>		
	<i>THE GOVERNOR</i> . The boke named the		
	Gouernor, deuised by ye Thomas Elyot Knight.		
	Londini M.D.xxxi. Collated with subsequent		
5 0	editions. . . . .	2 0	2/6



# CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

*English Works included or to be included in the Series.*

Each distinct original publication is separately quoted.

THE dates in the first column are those with which the several works should certainly, or in all probability, be associated in the *History and Literature of England*. When these dates are asterisked \*, the work was anterior to the date. If the date of composition, &c. differs from that of the particular edition reprinted, the *latter* is shown in a second column.

Works already (Dec. 1869) reprinted, are followed by their numbers in the preceding list: otherwise the works are intended to appear in 1870. See previous pages.

## Richard I.

1196. 1486. *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham.* . . . 18

## Henry VIII.

1516. 1556. Sir T. MORE. *Utopia.* . . . 14  
1545. R. ASCHAM. *Toxophilus.* . . . 7

## Edward VI.

1549. Bp. H. LATIMER. *The Ploughers.* . . . 2  
1549. Bp. H. LATIMER. *Seven Sermons before Ed. VI.* 13  
1550. Rev. T. LEVER. *Sermon in the Shrouds of St. Pauls.*  
1550. Rev. T. LEVER. *Sermon before Ed. VI.*  
1550. Rev. T. LEVER. *Sermon at Paul's Cross.*  
\*1553. 1566. N. UDALL. *Roister Doister.* . . . 17  
1553. R. EDEN. *Translation from SEBASTIAN MUNSTER (1532).*

## Philip and Mary.

1555. R. EDEN. *Translations from PETER MARTYR (1516),  
OVIEDO Y VALDES (1521), A. PIGAFETTA (1532), etc.*  
1557. *Tottel's Miscellany. Songes and Sonettes by HENRY  
HAWARD, Earle of Surrey and other.*

## Elizabeth.

1561. 1571. T. SACKVILLE and T. NORTON. *Ferrex and Porrex.*  
1563. T. SACKVILLE. *The Induction, &c.*  
1570. R. ASCHAM. *The Scholemaster.*  
1575. G. GASCOIGNE. *Certayne notes of Instruction in  
English verse.* . . . 11  
1576. G. GASCOIGNE. *The complaynt of Philomene.* . . . 11  
1576. G. GASCOIGNE. *The Stele Glasse.* . . . 11  
1577. G. WHETSTONE. *A Remembrance of G. Gascoigne.* 11  
1579. J. LYLY. *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit.* . . . 9  
1579. S. GOSSON. *The Schoole of Abuse.* . . . 3  
1579. S. GOSSON. *An Apologie for the School of Abuse.* 3  
1580. J. LYLY. *Euphues and his England.* . . . 9  
1557-1580. T. TUSSER. *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie.*

1582.	1595.	Sir P. SIDNEY.	<i>An Apologie for Poetrie.</i>	.	4
1582.		T. WATSON.	<i>The Εκατομπαθια.</i>	.	21
1583.		Rev. P. STUBBES.	<i>The Anatomie of Abuses.</i>		
1583.		Rev. P. STUBBES.	Second Part of <i>The Anatomie of Abuses.</i>		
1585.		JAMES VI.	<i>The Essayes of a Prentise in.....Poesie.</i>		19
1586.		W. WEBBE.	<i>A Discourse of English Poetry.</i>		
1589.		G. PUTTENHAM.	<i>The Arte of English Poesie.</i>	.	15
1590.		P. UBALDINI.—A. RYTHER.	<i>A discourse concerynge the Spanishe flete.</i>		
1590.		T. WATSON.	<i>Melibæus.</i>	.	21
1590.		T. WATSON.	<i>An Eclogue, &amp;c.</i>	.	21
1590.		E. WEBBE.	<i>His Wonderful Trauauiles.</i>	.	5
1591.		Sir W. RALEIGH.	<i>The Fight in the 'Revenge.'</i>		
1592.	1593.	T. WATSON.	<i>The Teares of Fancy or Loue disdained.</i>		21
1595.		G. MARKHAM.	<i>The Tragedie of Sir R. Grenville.</i>		
*1597.		F. BACON.	<i>Essayes.</i>		

### James I.

1604.		[JAMES I.]	<i>A Counterblaste to Tobacco.</i>	.	19
? 1653.		Sir R. NAUNTON.	<i>Fragmenta Regalia.</i>	.	20
1607-12.		Sir F. Bacon.	<i>The Writings, &amp;c. &amp;c.</i>	Harl. MS. 5106.	
1612.			<i>The Essaies of Sir F. Bacon, Knt.</i>		

### Charles I.

1625.		Francis Lord VERULAM, Viscount ST. ALBANS.	<i>Essayes or Counsels, Ciuill or Morall.</i>		
1628-33.		Bp. J. EARLE.	<i>Microcosmographie.</i>	.	12
1625-45.	1689.	J. SELDEN.	<i>Table Talk.</i>	.	6
1630-40.	1640.	W. HABINGTON.	<i>Castara.</i>		
1637.		STAR CHAMBER.	<i>Decree concerning Printing.</i>	.	1
1641.		J. MILTON.	<i>The Reason of Church Government, etc.</i>		
1642.		J. HOWELL.	<i>Instructions for Forreine Travell.</i>		16
1643.		LORDS AND COMMONS.	<i>Order regulating of Printing.</i>		1
1644.		J. MILTON.	<i>On Education.</i>		
1644.		J. MILTON.	<i>Areopagitica.</i>	.	1
1645.		J. HOWELL.	<i>Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ.</i>	Book I.	
1646.		J. HALL.	<i>Horæ Vacivæ.</i>		
1647.		J. HOWELL.	<i>Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ.</i>	Book II.	

### Commonwealth.

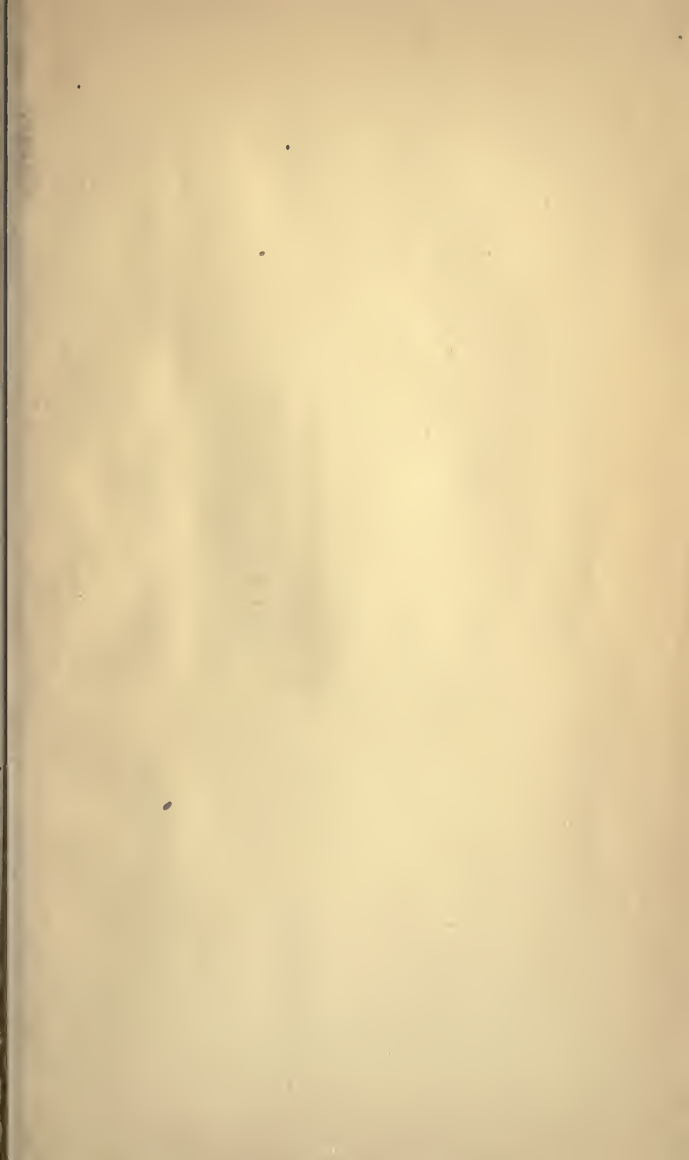
1650.		J. HOWELL.	<i>Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ.</i>	Book III.	
1650.		J. HOWELL.	<i>Instructions for travelling into Turkey.</i>		16
1655.		J. HOWELL.	<i>Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ.</i>	Book IV.	

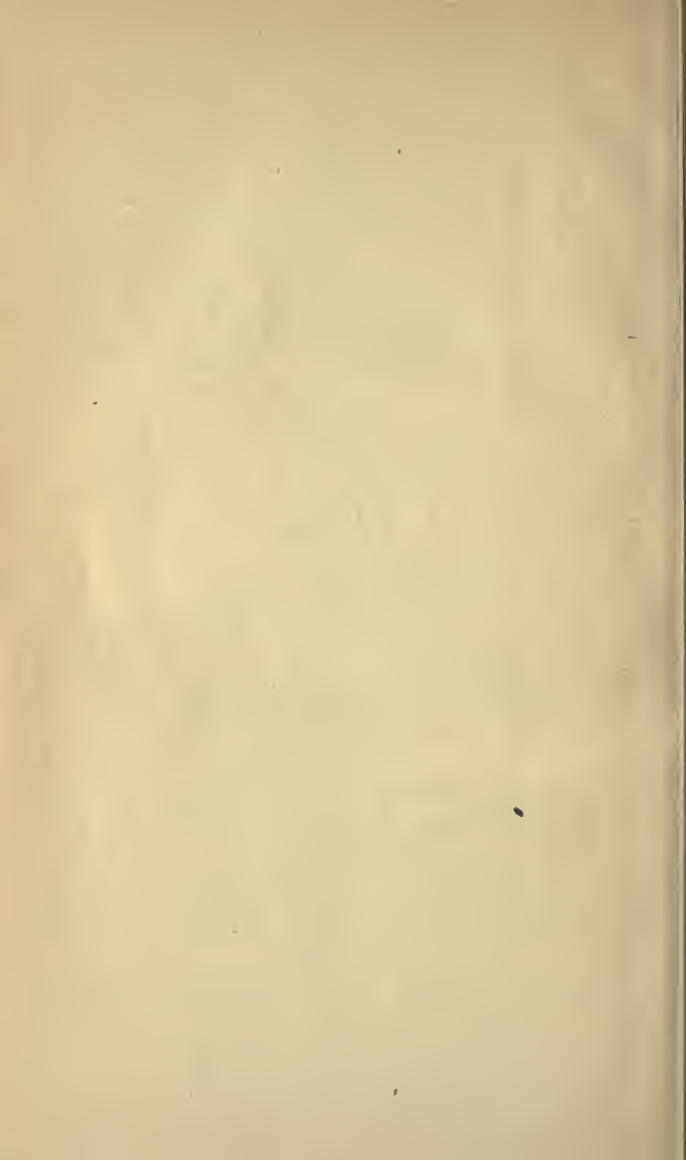
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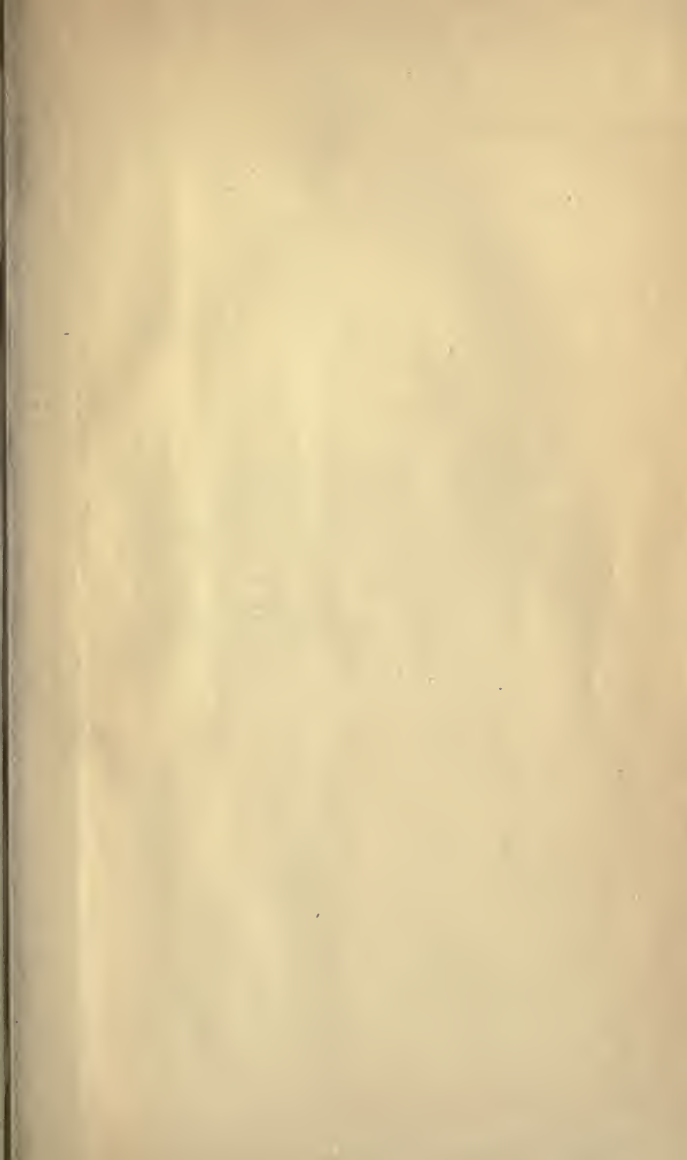
1671.	1672.	G. VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham.	<i>The Rehearsal.</i>		10
1694.		E. PHILLIPS.	<i>Life of John Milton.</i>		

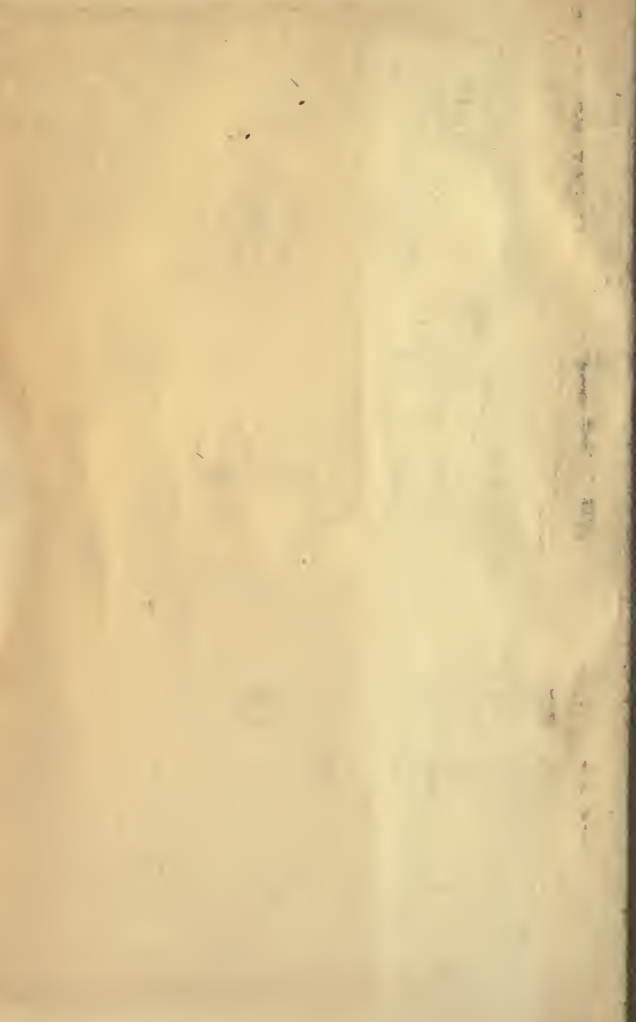
### Anne.

1712.		J. ADDISON.	<i>Criticism on Paradise Lost.</i>		8
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1872

1873

1874

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